

Notes of a journey through Canada, the United States of America, and the West Indies.

NOTES OF A JOURNEY THROUGH CANADA, &c. &c.

NOTES OF JOURNEY THROUGH CANADA, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE WEST INDIES.

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PREFACE.

The following Notes , made in the course of a ramble in Canada, the United States of America, and the Islands of Cuba and Jamaica, are submitted to the public, in the hope that, although brief and otherwise imperfect, they may be found in some degree useful, both as affording information to intending Emigrants, and as exhibiting the manners of the people to whom they refer, in the light in which they present themselves to a traveller. The Author begs leave to intimate, that the omission of detailed descriptions of scenery, towns, and institutions, has been intentional, these subjects having already received elucidation

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from able and experienced writers. The rapid manner in which he travelled prevented him from forming any decided opinion respecting the general society vi of the places which he visited; and, therefore, he has confined himself to a simple narrative of occurrences, and to remarks naturally elicited by them.

Before leaving this country, the Author had planned a very extended route through South America, as well as a visit to Africa and several parts of Asia. As the countries lying to the south of Mexico are comparatively little known, he intended to devote a liberal portion of time to the study of every interesting object that might occur there; and for this reason, and because the northern parts of America are already well known, he limited his sketches of them to cursory observations, and hurried over them for the purpose of reaching as soon as possible a less trodden field. He was within three days' sail of Carthagena, a seaport of the Republic of Columbia, where he meant to reside for some time, with a view of obtaining a practical knowledge of the Spanish language, and of studying the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as well as the natural objects that might seem most remarkable. He would then have advanced into the interior, and vii pursued his course alone; but events, over which he had no control, prevented him from accomplishing his undertaking, which he was most reluctantly compelled to abandon.

The Author must acknowledge that he often felt the want of a companion, for many things escape the observation of one which attract that of another, and memory is often treacherous. Besides, the greatest pleasure is afforded by an evening conversation, beside a blazing fire, relative to the events of the day. But even a solitary ramble is not without its advantages, for it throws one upon his own resources; and enables him to elicit energies which otherwise might not have been called into action. The utility of travelling cannot be denied, for it affords a practical acquaintance with the ordinary affairs of human life, and a knowledge of human nature, which may be subsequently of much advantage to its possessor. Every young man who has the means of visiting foreign countries ought therefore to avail himself of them. But, surely, the object in leaving his native land ought not to be the enjoyment of loose pleasures, such as many of the more civilized viii

countries of Europe so liberally afford, but the improvement of his mind by observation and reflection, and a liberality of sentiment which is best fostered by an extended acquaintance with men placed in different circumstances. Should he then visit other countries than those of Europe, he will have opportunities of comparing the condition of nations differently situated as to physical and mental powers, temperament, disposition, religion, and laws; and of contemplating the wonderfully diversified operations of Divine power and wisdom manifested in the phenomena of nature. Should the traveller be a Briton, he will find the love of his country strengthen as he proceeds; and, when he returns to the home of his youth, he will be grateful to Providence for having cast his lot in a land more highly favoured than any which he has seen, and commence the duties of active life with a resolution to acquit himself in a manner worthy of his station.

Edinburgh, 1 st January, , 1838

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CHAPTER I. VOYAGE FROM GREENOCK TO QUEBEC.

Departure from the Clyde.—Adverse wind.—Sickness, listlessness, and amusements of the passengers.—Joseph and the Dominie.—Boarded by a Russian officer in the Atlantic. Favourable weather.—Serious results of a frolic.—Death of children.—St Paul's Island.—Entrance of the Gulf of St Lawrence.—Pilgrim's Island, Crane Island, Quarantine station.—Land on Grosse Island.—Harshness of the Commandant.—Scenery of the St Lawrence.—Quebec.

Having resolved to cross the Atlantic for the purpose of visiting my brother, who had settled in Upper Canada, and of acquiring from personal observation some knowledge of a country, respecting which so many contradictory statements have been laid before the public, I left Edinburgh on the 30th May 1836, and proceeding to Greenock, took my passage in the Corsair brig, Ritchie master, bound for Quebec and Montreal. On Saturday

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the 11th June, we were towed down the Clyde by the Hercules steamer as far as the Cumbray Islands, when the steamer leaving us, we set sail, with the wind against us. There were nearly an hundred passengers on A 2 board, of whom only five were my companions in the cabin.

Sunday, June 12. Wind still contrary, blowing hard; great sea, in consequence of which none of the cabin passengers, except myself, could look at the breakfast table. At 11 A. M. weathered Ailsa Craig. The bold coast of Cantyre on the one side, and the low shores of Ayr on the other, engaged our attention.

Towards noon the weather became moderate, and the passengers ventured on deck. The wind having continued moderate, the vessel made little progress, so that at ten o'clock we were only off Sandy Island in Cantyre.

On Monday, although the weather was dull, and our progress little, the passengers were more cheerful, and occasionally conversant. Many of the women were on deck, some knitting, others mending, and all who were not disabled by sickness, exhibiting a striking contrast to the listlessness of the men. At 9 P. M. a large brig crossed our bows and hailed, asking for biscuit, potatoes, and rum, which the captain gave them. She turned out to be the British Tar from Sierra Leone to Greenock, with oak; had been ten weeks on her passage, and was now short of provisions.

14th. Morning wet, but cleared up before noon; a good breeze. Stewart and I took a race up the shrouds, to the great amusement of the passengers. The second mate followed us, and getting hold of one of my legs, tied it to the rigging, demanding, as a customary fine in such cases, a bottle of rum for 3 the ship's crew, on granting which we were allowed to descend without further molestation. Nothing of interest occurred this day. Each individual seemed absorbed in his own reflections, and silence generally prevailed. Several of the steerage passengers, who had got over their sickness, were stretched out at full length, on the deck, killing time, while the women were engaged in sewing. There was thunder

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on the night of the 15th. On the 16th we had a smart breeze from the north-west. The captain having taken the sun's altitude, and marked his reckoning, informed us that he calculated the distance run at 450 miles, and that we had lost a quarter of an hour in time. Stewart having requested me to go up to the shrouds, to allure a man named Joseph Simpson, whom the rest of the passengers played upon, I agreed, and was soon followed by Joseph, who had nearly gained the shrouds, when the ship-carpenter came up behind and tied his legs to the ropes of the ladder. Joseph was kept in this situation for some time, much to the amusement of the passengers. Then the cook, having got drunk, the captain prescribed a dose of salts, which Cookie was obliged to swallow with amusing contortions of countenance.

One of the passengers, a young man, gave me the following account of himself:—He was a schoolmaster, the only son of a widow, who rented a small farm in the island of Mull, for which she gave L.20 per annum. He had been to Glasgow with eight cattle, for which he received L.30. When proceeding to Dumbarton, on his way home, he met on 4 board the steamer a person having the appearance of a gentleman, who, on their landing, entered into conversation with him. The islander, not suspecting any fraud, had, in the simplicity of his heart, informed this stranger of the nature of his errand to Glasgow, and of the sum he had obtained for his cattle. No sooner master of this, than the rogue dropped a purse unknown to his simple companion, and suddenly crying out, "What's this I have here?" lifted it up, and shewing it to him, told him, that of course he was entitled to a share of the contents. Two rings were found in it, which were pronounced to be diamond, and valued at about L.50. They had sitten by the road side a short while, examining the rings and talking about them, when a well-dressed person came up. This person the finder of the purse addressed, telling him of their good fortune, and shewing him the rings, which this second stranger, stating that he himself was a jeweller, alleged to be worth L.44, and offered that sum for them. The first cheat said that he was going another way, but that the jeweller might have his share for L.22, on which the latter pulled out of his pocket a one pound note, declaring that he had no more with him, but that if they would go on, he would

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pay them the whole sum. Being in great haste, however, the finder of the purse could not accompany him, but suggested that the islander should give him L.22, and go with the jeweller to receive the L.44. The simple lad immediately gave up the sum demanded, and accompanied the jeweller until they nearly reached Dumbarton, when the latter, 5 taking him by the arm, desired him to sit down until he should return from his house with the money, which he would certainly do in less than half an hour. A whole hour had elapsed before the lad perceived that he had been duped. Returning to Glasgow, he informed a cousin of his, a lawyer there, of what had befallen him. The lawyer immediately gave notice to the police, but the villains had too much start to be taken. The poor Highlander, grieved for the loss of his money, and despairing of ever regaining it, took the matter so much to heart, that he resolved, instead of returning home, to go to Canada. His cousin tried to dissuade him from taking this step, representing to him the destitute condition in which he would leave his mother, but in vain, he could not persuade him to return; his simplicity would ever prove a source of bitter reflection. He started for Greenock with only L.5 in his pocket, took a passage in the Corsair for Quebec, for which he paid L.3, bought some provisions, a pair of shoes and trowsers, and wrote to his mother, informing her that he had sailed for Canada. He appeared rather weakly, and requested that I should try and get him a clerkship. I told him, that having no acquaintance in the mercantile line, I could not aid him in this respect, but offered to pay his passage and food, provided he would engage to serve my brother, who had purchased four hundred acres near Dundas, and who would give him L.30 per annum and his victuals. He said he apprehended the state of his 6 health would not enable him to cut wood, and would prefer a clerkship.

The weather still fine. A ship hove in sight, and, hoisting Danish colours, sent off a boat rowed by eight men. A person in it hailed, asked for news, stated that he was a Dane, and eagerly inquired if there was war between England and France, and Russia, which he had been informed was the case. On being told there was not, he requested to be admitted on board, which the captain was unwilling to allow, telling him that the quarantine at Quebec insisted on the commanders of all vessels declaring explicitly what ships they

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had met at sea, and whether they had communication with any. The Dane, however, assured him that there was no sickness of any kind on board his vessel, and asked for half a dozen of porter, for which he threw on board eight Mexican dollars, on which the captain lowered the ladder and received him on board. After getting all the news, besides a newspaper, he told us he had come from Otaheite, had been 130 days at sea, and was bound for Archangel. The captain gave him a dozen and a half of porter, for which he insisted on giving more money. He wished to pass himself off as a merchantman, but the captain told him his ship had the appearance of a frigate, and he supposed she belonged to his government, which, when about to depart, he confessed to be the case. On Mr Stewart's assuring us that the paper in which the dollars were wrapped was in the Russian language, being some accounts of a recent date, and 7 his boatmen being of a swarthy complexion, we came to the conclusion that he belonged to the Russian service. The general curiosity displayed at his appearance amongst us, was worthy of a Hogarth's pencil. Each individual striving to obtain the first glimpse of him, the bowsprit was covered, and the sides of the vessel filled. The intense eagerness with which all strove to catch the slightest whisper between him and the captain, and the chagrin experienced when the latter conducted him to the cabin, although the men in the boat formed subjects for scrutiny, would have proved highly interesting to a spectator. The mysterious visitor, who was a stout, thick-set, active man, furnished a subject of conversation to all on board for the evening. Some alleged that he was a pirate, and this led to the watching of his course. In short, his appearance proved of much greater importance to us than a visit from his master, the Emperor himself, would have done had we been on shore.

On the 19th of June, being Sunday, one of the steerage passengers, an old man from the Highlands, apparently about 70, and who had been an elder of his parish, preached extempore in Gaelic for about an hour. Nothing further worthy of notice occurred, excepting the appearance of a large shoal of porpoises which surrounded the vessel. Next day we had a strong breeze from the south-west, and the ship pitched considerably, the waves now and then washing over the deck, to the annoyance of the passengers. I sent

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two blue shirts and two pairs of stockings to the young man from Mull already mentioned, 8 who had nothing with him excepting the clothes which he wore. He wrote me a letter of thanks, and, afterwards coming on deck, with one of the shirts on, thanked me anew. I requested the captain to give him the usual victuals when his own stock was consumed, to the extent of a pound's worth. Mr Stewart promised to speak to some of his friends in Quebec to get a berth for him; and I again reminded him, that should nothing better occur, I was willing to take him to my brother's and pay all expenses.

On the 21st a fresh breeze sprung up, and heavy rain fell. At night, the creaking of the timbers, and the noise among the passengers, with the rolling of the vessel, effectually banished sleep, until at length, the wind subsiding, tranquillity was restored. The wind was still favourable on the 22d and 23d June. The captain caused the steerage passengers to bring up their blankets and other articles of clothing, and shake them over the sides of the vessel. It was only, however, after repeatedly urging them, and sending the mate among them, that they were induced to make a clearance, although it seemed probable, that from the filth which had accumulated, and the noxious effluvia that vitiated the air in the hold, disease might otherwise have arisen in a few days. The mate announced a ship, which, however, we could not see from the deck, and while we were on the look-out, a fiddle was heard somewhere below, which suggested the propriety of a dance. Joseph and the young man from Mull, who, having been a teacher, may be named the Dominie, were 9 the first to volunteer; but the other young fellows could not be persuaded, excepting one or two. The captain went down to the hold, and brought up for his partner the preacher's sister, an old woman of 60. Stewart, Ewing, junior, and I, kept up the dance with the girls and wives until nine o'clock, when I sent the steward with a bottle of rum to give all the women a dram, but with strict injunctions not to let the men have any, saying, that since they would not "shake a fit, I would not wat their whistles."

A voyage across the Atlantic is, under ordinary circumstances, so entirely a commonplace affair, that the narrative of one cannot fail to be as tedious as we found our progress, although the latter was quite satisfactory in the judgment of the captain.

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With a little occasional study, conversation, drafts, walking on deck when the weather permitted, eating, drinking, and sleeping, we contrived to pass the time. Now and then we endeavoured to extract a little amusement from any material that seemed capable of affording it. Thus, one day after dinner, Joseph happened to mention that he was a member of the Temperance Society, and yet admitted that he had recently been drunk, and, moreover, had a bottle of whisky in his possession. Being desirous of removing temptation from him, I offered to purchase it, on which he brought it up and delivered it to me. The captain then suggesting that I should sell it by auction, I offered it to the highest bidder, and knocked it down to the Dominie at twentypence. On my asking him for the money, he said he had purchased on credit; but the rest not being satisfied, we insisted upon his paying for it immediately, or be sent to the round-house as jail. Seeing that we were all joking, he good-naturedly offered to go, or submit to any other punishment; whereupon the captain ordered up the shackles, which the Dominie allowed to be put on, to the great amusement of the passengers. There being another pair, it was suggested by some one that Joseph should bear the Dominie company; but on the mate's attempting to shackle him, he broke from him, pulled out his knife, and threatened to stab the first that came near him. One of the sailors, however, secured his arms from behind, and the mate having wrested the knife from him, and hit him a smart blow with his open hand, shackled him, and brought him to the captain, who threw his bottle overboard, and kept him shackled for sometime longer. I compensated the loss of his whisky.

The weather continuing favourable we made good way. On the 26th of June we passed a brig, the Ann Johnston of Greenock, and on the 28th saw another at a distance. On the latter day the wind became unfavourable, and the weather cold and foggy. On the 29th, it was still colder, with a strong breeze from N.W., which raised enormous waves. It is interesting, during a storm, to watch the billows as they roll onwards, hurling their gigantic force against the vessel, as if to bury her many fathoms in the immeasurable abyss, and to see how she rises majestically upon their lofty ridges, defying, as it were, their utmost

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rage. Frequently the spray washed over our decks, and the oldest 11 sailor could not stand without a hold during the ascent and descent of the vessel.

Two ships passed at a distance on the 30th June. The weather continued cold and the wind unfavourable. On the evening of the 1st July it became calm, and as we were on the Newfoundland banks, our fishing-tackle was put into use, and some cod caught. Next day the wind was favourable, but the weather still foggy and extremely cold, which it continued to be until we passed the Green Bank. On the 4th, when half across, we passed a New York packet ship bound to Liverpool, as well as several other vessels; and on the 5th, a brig from Quebec to Belfast, as well as ten other vessels at a distance. The wife of one of the passengers had been prematurely delivered of two children; both died, and were sewed up in canvass and thrown overboard. The captain and Stewart wished to get up a dance among the passengers, but Mr Ewing and I having represented to them the impropriety of doing so under the circumstances mentioned, they desisted.

We were now approaching the coast, and on the 6th July, having risen at half-past six, I was delighted by the sight of St Paul's Island, which is rocky, about a mile in length, and having only two or three houses on it. This island is about the centre of the mouth of the Gulf of St Lawrence, having Cape Ray to the north, and Cape North to the south. About thirty miles farther on, we saw two small rocky islands belonging to the Magdalen group. Towards evening, having come up with a 12 British schooner of eighteen guns, we were boarded by her first lieutenant, who asked to purchase newspapers and porter, of the latter of which, however, we had none to spare.

On the 7th July I was roused by the mate, who called out that a shark was prowling about, but on my arriving on deck, I found that it had disappeared, although the captain had thrown out a bait for him. It was supposed that he had been enticed to approach us by seeing two of the sailors outside, washing the sides of the vessel. The sky was clear, and the temperature high, this being in fact the first fine day we had since we left Greenock. After tea the passengers had a dance for about half an hour; but although some

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of the young men and girls danced well, they seemed to be quite indifferent about the amusement.

On the morning of the 8th we saw the south part of Lower Canada, which presented a bold craggy front, with hills receding, and all covered with wood even to the shore, where the precipices permitted. Along the coast were many small wooden houses, and near Cape Rozier was a wooden village, inhabited by the Fox Indians. Canoes were out fishing, and vast numbers of whales were blowing all round us, some of them of great size. A pilot came out from Griffin's Cove, but our captain refused to take him. Several cod and two mackerel were caught, but nothing of much interest occurred in the course of the day, which was remarkably hot.

Next day we had a favourable breeze, which soon carried us ahead of a brig that had been a mile in 13 advance of us during the night. About half-past ten a pilot came up, and we took him on board. The west end of Anticosti and Labrador were seen in the distance. We were considerably farther from the southern coast of the Gulf, but in the afternoon it narrowed, so that land covered with wood to the shore was very distinctly seen on both sides.

On the 10th July, the weather misty, and little wind; but the breeze springing up ahead, we were obliged to tack. The land was uninteresting, being composed of small hills, which prevented our seeing into the interior. The elder performed divine service in the hold, as he had uniformly done on Sunday during the voyage. Early on the 11th we were off Green Island, but made very little progress, as the wind had fallen. The country continued low, undulated, and wooded, with the white limestone rock now and then projecting, so as in some degree to diversify the otherwise monotonous scenery. On getting up at seven next morning, I found the vessel at anchor off Pilgrim's Island. The river, the great St Lawrence, was here considerably narrowed. Few houses were seen on the northern side, but along the southern shore rows of wooden buildings, with now and then a church; extended at intervals. Towards evening we passed the Traverse, so called on account of its many reefs

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and sand-banks, between which the passage is pointed out by buoys, and a floating-light. Many ships, brigs, and other vessels passed down with the tide. Having a breeze, we were enabled to make way against it, and reached 14 Crane Island, when we were obliged to anchor, as the wind failed us, and the tide ran strong.

There was a dead calm on the 13th, so that we were obliged to remain some time at anchor off Crane Island, which seemed to be fertile, and was nearly cleared of wood. It belongs to a Mr M'Pherson, who lets it out. Nothing but scrubbing, to prepare for the inspecting officer of quarantine, who came on board, when, a breeze having sprung up, we proceeded five miles further, and anchored off Grosse Isle. The inspector was a tall dark Englishman, of the name of Poole. Having ordered all the steerage passengers on deck, and arranged them on one side, he caused every individual to pass between him and the captain, while he took the number. After this he went down to the hold, then to the cabin, and questioned the captain, ordering him to whitewash the hold with lime. The cabin passengers were permitted to go on shore at the fort, and walk along the east part of the island, but were warned not to have communication with the passengers of the other vessels at anchor, two of which had disease on board, there being fourteen passengers ill of fever in one, and in the other a few cases of measles. The passengers were landed on the Island, where they washed their clothes.

The government arrangements with regard to the quarantine appear to be very injudicious. The system is productive of ruin to many of the poor emigrants, and is highly injurious to their health. Two vessels from Ireland, having between four and 15 five hundred passengers on board, had been detained for several weeks at this island, because a few cases of fever occurred amongst their passengers. From the confinement and want of exercise, people thus crowded together are very liable to generate diseases, which they might otherwise have entirely escaped. Besides, the poor emigrants inevitably exhaust whatever little funds they may have, and when they at length reach Montreal or Quebec, they are utterly destitute. How easy would it be for the inspecting physician to separate the healthy from the diseased, send the latter off a short way, and not detain the vessel. Off

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the St Charles River, or the west end of the island of Orleans, there might be a quarantine establishment, for the purpose of detaining for eight days those who have come out of the infected vessel. In this establishment employment might be provided for those necessarily detained, so that while the emigrants might be benefited, the government might also be receiving advantage from their labour. It would certainly be the means of preventing, not only many deaths, but much destitution, as well as crime; for if the emigrant has no means, and is unable to get work, it cannot be wondered at that he should help himself to the property of others. Such an establishment is well worthy of the attention of individuals, who, with the aid of government, might render it a source of profit to themselves, and, at the same time, confer a lasting benefit on the country.

The boat having been lowered, all the cabin passengers eagerly leaped into it, and the captain, taking 16 two or three bottles of spirits, to be exchanged for milk, butter, and eggs, we landed opposite the Fort, when the soldier on duty came up and refused to allow one of us to go on shore. The commandant appearing, the captain, however, got out, and going up to him, informed him that we had the inspecting officer's permission to come ashore, but that he had unfortunately left it behind. To this it was replied, that he must return with his passengers for it, as we could not be allowed to land without it. This was a great disappointment to us all. We had been cooped up like birds in a cage for a month, detained here by the physician until the hold was white-washed, and, when at length on the eve of landing, sent back in search of our order. In half an hour we returned and presented ourselves, but were again prevented from stepping ashore by the sentry, though we showed him the inspector's order. He kept us waiting for more than ten minutes, until the commandant, after looking at us for some time, chose to come out of his house, scarcely a stone cast off, and call to the captain, who leaped ashore and went up to him. In the meantime, we all felt so anxious to set our feet once more on *terra firma*, that we were deliberating whether we should not knock down the sentry and scamper off. Indeed, I firmly believe, that had we not been permitted to land, we should have rebelled, and done so at the risk of being fired at. We asked the name of the commandant, who had given

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us so ungracious a reception, but the soldier refused to tell us. At length, however, we were released. No schoolboys ever bounded with greater eagerness when the news of a holiday was proclaimed, than did our party as we traversed our prescribed path in the island. Like pointers let loose from confinement, we ran about in all directions, and examined every object that occurred. In passing, we saw the inspecting physician looking out of his window at us, not ten yards from the commandant's house, and said amongst ourselves, that he could not but have seen us turned back, so that it was at least very uncivil in him not to have interfered.

There is only an hospital with a small party of soldiers on the island, which belongs to government, and is very poor and unproductive. One settler had resided on it for two or three years, but had left it. We saw his log-house, which was falling into ruins. Every object drew our attention, and we compared the plants and insects with those of our own country, and wandered about until the day drew near its close, when, with heavy hearts, we regained the boat and returned to our prison.

After tea, to which we had milk and fresh butter, the captain remarked that they had been very civil on shore; on which I immediately said, that I was surprised to witness such rudeness in a gentleman holding his Majesty's commission. He said he could not see that I had any reason for complaint, when I asked him how could the commandant's conduct be excused? When we first landed, he saw a lady in our boat, and yet sent us back, although our captain assured him that we had the physician's permission to land, and, by walking a few yards, he could have ascertained the fact, or sent to inquire;—even when we landed the second time, we had been rudely told to keep off; and when we did at length get on shore, the commandant scarcely deigned to speak to us, merely telling us to keep to the east side of the island, without so much as letting us know which way we should go. He walked about with our captain, and adjourned with him to the doctor's to take some spirits, of the free use of which his face seemed to me to give decided indications. Mr Ewing gave his assent to my remarks, as did the rest.

The inspecting physician, when on board, had informed us that 626 vessels had gone up before us this season to Quebec, with 17,000 passengers, chiefly emigrants.

On the 14th July, the inspector having given us permission to go up the river, we weighed anchor at eight in the morning and proceeded. The scenery on both sides is highly picturesque, and, were the country more cultivated, would perhaps surpass any in Europe. The sloping banks are generally covered with wood, but here and there intervene tracts of bare and craggy hills, while in the back ground are seen bold mountains, generally wooded to the summits. The river is studded with islands of all imaginable forms, and covered with beautiful trees. We passed St Margaret's Island and the Isle of Orleans. The latter is well cultivated, seems to be very fertile, contains numerous cottages, and is twenty miles in length, with a breadth of twelve or thirteen. Leaving this island, of which the eastern extremity is twenty-three miles distant from Quebec, we passed the falls of the Montmorenci river, on the south side 19 of the St Lawrence, but of which, from the distance, the grandeur could not be duly appreciated. After this, we had a fine view of Quebec, which, at the distance of two miles, presented a splendid appearance. We viewed with delight the magnificent semicircular bend of the river, the tinned spires of the churches glittering in the sunshine, the fort towering over the city, and the sloping grounds around, in which cultivated fields and orchards alternated with patches of wood. The vessel anchored at a short distance from the town, when we all immediately went ashore, rejoicing to exchange our marine prison for the free space of field and forest, mountain and valley, and anticipating from the happy termination of our voyage many days of pleasure, in a land with whose name we had been familiar from infancy, but whose character was yet unknown to us from personal observation.

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CHAPTER II. QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.

Lower Town of Quebec.—Upper Town.—Narrowness and neglected state of the streets.—London and Albion Hotels. Theatre.—Convicts sent to Britain.—Falls of Montmorenci.

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French and Irish inhabitants contrasted.—Indian village of Lorette.—Plains of Abraham —Fort, Government-house. Museum, Assembly Rooms.—Indian encampment.—Voyage to Montreal.—Lumberers.—Montreal much larger than Quebec, its streets wider, and the buildings superior.—Cathedral, Nunneries, Exchange Coffeehouse.—Scenery. St Helen's Island.—Excursion to Three Rivers.—Races. English travellers.—Politics of the Canadas.

The Lower Town of Quebec is unrivalled for filth and all sorts of inconvenience. The streets are very narrow, the side-pavement is scarcely broad enough for a single passenger, so that when two meet, one must of course go off; and the small carts, calashes, and other nuisances obstruct your progress, so that you are glad to get away as fast as possible. The people seem extremely poor, and a constant chattering 21 of French is heard wherever you go. The only town that I have visited which presents equally disagreeable features is Prague in Bohemia, where, taking a walk one morning in Jude Street, with my friend O—and an officer of the 78th, we were so pestered with men, women, and children, urging us to make purchases, that we could scarcely disentangle ourselves. They repeatedly seized us, held us at arm's length, presented us with knives, scissors, and a variety of other articles, for which we had no use, and so seriously annoyed us that we were glad to beat a speedy retreat. One woman took hold of my friend's coat, and held him for more than five minutes, pressing him to purchase a vest, until his menaces at length induced her to liberate him. They were all Jews, apparently very wretched. The people that first met us in Quebec seemed little better off.

The ascent to the Upper Town is very bad, the principal passage being full of ruts, and the narrower being wooden stairs, but all much worse than either Libberton or St Mary's Wynds in Edinburgh, which they somewhat resemble, in having old clothes stuck out at every door and window. I went with Stewart and Scott to the London Hotel, in Cul-de-sac Street, kept by a Mr M'Lean, and recommended to us by our captain. The charges for boarding were five shillings a day, including breakfast, dinner, tea, and bed. We had tea, in paying for which, the demand being 1s. 6d. currency, or 1s. 4½d. sterling, Mr Stewart, not having smaller change, gave a dollar, and was tendered the balance in halfpence,

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22 which he refused. On this M'Lean made his appearance, behaved in a most insolent manner, and refused to give silver, although Stewart politely stated that copper would be very inconvenient for him to carry, and said he would be obliged to him for silver. Our host observed, insultingly, that we were no longer in Britain, and that this was the land of liberty and equality; on which I retorted, that we wanted nothing more than this same equality of which he boasted, for if Stewart had given silver, he had a right to get silver in return. The fellow, however, got into a rage, and would not be reasoned with; so I told him I was sorry I had bespoken a bed in his house, and if he would allow me the liberty which he advocated, I would prefer going to another. He said, in a petulant tone, we might go where we liked. So we left the London Hotel, and went to the Albion, kept by a Mr Hoffman. The charges were higher, as might have been expected, for it was in a better part of the town, and kept in better style. They were 7s. 6d. currency per diem, which included breakfast at eight, luncheon from twelve to two, dinner at six, and tea at eight. By the week or month the charges were less.

In the evening we went to the theatre, which is very shabby, the boxes 5s. currency, the pit 2s. 6d. Mr Abbot, from London, performed the part of Beverley in the Gamester, and Mr Ward, from Edinburgh, that of Stukeley. The former, who was well received, is a good comic actor, having real life in his smallest gesticulation. A Mrs Greene from New York acted Mrs Beverley with considerable 23 success; the others, however, were very inferior. The hours are from a quarter past eight to half-past eleven. The house was very thin, there being not more than forty in the boxes, and few in the pit. The inhabitants of Quebec do not patronize the theatre.

At breakfast, next day, about ten were present, among whom were Lieutenant Gardner of the 32d Regiment, the surgeon, and their ladies. They had come down from Montreal, where the Regiment was quartered, with convicts, to be sent to the Hulks in Great Britain. This certainly is an absurd arrangement. Why do they not employ all the criminals in the colonies in improvements there, instead of taking them home or to Botany Bay, at an enormous cost? Would it not be better to employ them in making and repairing the

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roads, or in some other way useful to the internal policy of the colony, than transport them at great expense, and to their own deterioration? The inexperienced are brought into contact with the hardened in crime, whose advice they cannot but follow, and they are thus landed in Britain more depraved than they were before. After breakfast, I went on board the brig, where I waited two hours, expecting the custom-house officer; but he not coming, and the captain being absent, I went ashore and requested them to let me have my luggage, on which an officer went along with me, and passed it without asking any fees. The practice of feeing these officers is truly disgraceful to the government of Great Britain. Although we are held up by the rest of Europe as comparatively free ²⁴ from corruption, yet the moment a foreigner reaches our shores, the first thing he encounters is bribery. The officers who examine his luggage give him to understand that it is customary to pay them; and for what? Merely that he may have an opportunity of smuggling any thing he has brought over with him. This practice is so notorious, that the government cannot but know of its existence; and so long as it continues, let no Briton boast of the purity of his government.

I dined at the table d'hôte with Stewart, and in the evening went to the theatre. On my return to the Albion, Mr Abbot came into the public room, and being acquainted with the two or three who were there, asked us to join him at supper, which we did. We sat for four or five hours, delighted with his spirited and enlivening conversation, and felt reluctant to part, when the approach of morn hinted that we ought to be otherwise employed.

After breakfast, on the 16th July, having intimated to the landlord my desire to visit the Falls of Montmorenci, he made inquiry, and got two others to join me. We went in a barouche. Crossing the St Charles river, by a wooden drawbridge, where we paid a toll of 1s. 3d., and passing the Marine Hospital, one of the largest buildings in Quebec, we proceeded down the right bank of the St Lawrence for nearly nine miles, passing a number of cottages on both sides of the road, and the straggling village of Beaufort. The cottages, in their general appearance and neatness, having a flower garden in front, and flowers inside, recal to mind those of the mother country, ²⁵ France, the majority of

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the inhabitants of Lower Canada being of French extraction, and retaining their original language. Their form, sprightly disposition, dress, and manners, are to this day decidedly French. They live separate from the British, refusing to amalgamate with them, and of late years scarcely holding any intercourse with them, owing to the difference in politics. On the other hand, they readily suit themselves to the Indian character. There is a very striking contrast between their cottages and those of the Irish, who come next to them in number. Looking out of almost every French cottage we observed a pretty girl, the very picture of cheerfulness, and the interior was always very neat: and clean. The building is of one story, and generally contains a single apartment, with a large stove in the centre, and wooden bedsteads in the corners; but sometimes there is a bed-room apart. The Irish cottages, although of the same size, and constructed of the same materials, being built of wood, and covered with shingles, are much less neat and cleanly. The shingles are thin pine boards, which, after exposure to the weather for sometime, so much resemble slates in appearance, that a stranger would readily take them for such. Even the Irish children seen about the cottages have a very different appearance from the French, the former being demure and dogged, while the latter are all liveliness and full of frolic.

About a quarter of a mile from the falls, we crossed the River Montmorenci, and on the other side found a small cottage kept as an inn by the proprietor, B 26 who is a French Canadian. We got out of our carriage, and proceeded by a footpath leading along the banks of this small river, to nearly its mouth, where it falls into the St Lawrence, opposite the west end of the Island of Orleans, over an almost perpendicular limestone rock, two hundred and sixty-five feet in height. The river is small, and at the time of my visit, contained less water than usual, on account of the long continued drought. The fall is extremely beautiful, there being a number of streamlets running down the rock at a short distance from each other. After we had inspected and admired it, our guide, who could not speak English, conducted us up the River Montmorenci, to what is called "the Steps." They are formed by the edges of the limestone strata, which being thin and horizontal, present the appearance of steps, extending a long way up the river. The banks are covered with

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wood, and the scenery is exceedingly singular and picturesque, insomuch that one might spend days in admiring it, and every day discover some new beauty. We paid the guide half a dollar, and returned to Quebec, where we arrived n time for dinner.

Next day being Sunday, I went with Stewart to the Presbyterian church in St Ann Street, which is capable of holding about eight hundred persons. A Mr Cook preached a good sermon. Having been told that the Indian village of Lorette was a favourite resort of the fashionables, I accompanied to it Mr Stewart and Mr Hawkins, author of the Picture of Quebec, to whom I had been introduced at 27 Abbot's supper party. Our landlord furnished us with cold fowl, ham, wine, and brandy, as he informed us that we might have some difficulty in getting any thing there, both from the want of good accommodation, and the crowds that resort to the place. Proceeding along the St Charles, we passed several pretty villas, and were delighted with the drive up the river, which makes numberless serpentine bends, and is inclosed by high banks covered with wood. At Lorette we crossed by a stone bridge, below which are the rapids, and stopped at a house distinguished by a long pole, which was that of the captain of militia, with whom Mr Hawkins was acquainted. After taking a little wine, we sauntered out and went to the church, where the service was just closing, and where we had an opportunity of seeing both the Indian women and those of the country around. I was disappointed at the appearance of the former, who had little else to distinguish them from the Canadians than their dress. They wear a piece of blanket round their shoulders and head, and have tight cotton or woollen trowsers, woven with coloured threads, and sometimes ornamented with small beads. Their complexion is fair, but their eyes and hair are black, and many of them seem more Canadian than Indian, although they are said to be of the Huron tribe. They have the loose morals of the French. After entering two or three of their houses, which were very clean, and similar in other respects to those of the Canadians, we visited a chief named Louis, who, with three others, had been to London, and there graciously received 28 by George IV., who presented each of them with a gold medal. The object of their visit was to obtain some lands to which they laid claim. After this tribe had been permitted to return to Lorette

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undisturbed, they allied themselves to the French, and were living there at the period of the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, when they retreated with the Marquis Vaudeuil. They were unsuccessful in their application, but were highly delighted with their visit, and the curiosities they had seen, as well as with their reception. The boys of the village are very expert in the use of the arrow. At the distance of ten yards they knock out of the ground a halfpenny or sixpenny piece, though it is scarcely visible above the surface. The village is prettily situated on an eminence above the St Charles river. No regularity is observed as to the location of the houses, which are scattered here and there without order. We again visited the captain, and after partaking of some cold fowl, ham, and other refreshments, and giving his wife half a dollar, returned to Quebec, much pleased with our excursion.

Next day I accompanied Mr Buie, one of our party to Montmorenci, on a visit to the Plains of Abraham, the field of battle where Wolfe fell at the moment of victory. It is about a mile and a half from Quebec on the right banks of the St Lawrence, a little above the fort on Cape Diamond. By the help of Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, we were able to trace the positions of the two armies. The Marquis Montcalm, the French commander, in possession of Quebec, surprised at Wolfe's boldness in 29 landing about four thousand men, and climbing an almost perpendicular hill on the only pregnable quarter of the town, led out seven thousand French to drive him into the river. Had he succeeded in repelling the assailants, not a man of them would have escaped. Montcalm, an able and experienced soldier, led on the left wing, which occupied the rising ground immediately in front of the fort, and was met by Wolfe, who with his right wing marched from the Cove. The grenadiers and 78th, whom Wolfe headed, carried every thing before them, and took possession of the eminence on which Montcalm had stood, as well as the redoubts he had thrown up there. In the attack Wolfe received three balls, of which the last, penetrating his breast, proved fatal. Montcalm also fell mortally wounded. A small circular stone has been put up by Lord Aylmer to mark the spot where Wolfe fell. The granite on which it is supported has already been chipped by visitors.

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Returning to the town, we visited the cape and fort. It is necessary to get the commander's permission to enter the fortifications, which are supposed to be inferior in strength only to those of Gibraltar. There is a magnificent view over the adjacent plains, which are studded with white cottages, and partially covered with cultivated fields, the prospect being bounded by hills which are wooded to their summits. The magnificent St Lawrence passes along the base of the cape, and the whole prospect forms a splendid amphitheatre. In 30 the fort is an armoury, in which are kept about 25,000 stands of arms.

On the 19th July I went to the Government House in St Ann Street, where the clerks have a collection of animals and minerals. I then visited Mr Chasseur's collection, which is the best in Quebec, and for which a room is to be fitted up in the Assembly House. His charge is 1s. 3d. currency. The largest Moose Deer to be seen in Quebec is in the possession of Dr Douglas; it measures eight feet in height, and appears a very ponderous animal. The Assembly Rooms are neat and well adapted for their purpose; there is a good library attached to them. The view from the top of the building is singular during sunshine, owing to the glittering of the tin, with which all the churches, and many of the houses and warerooms, are covered.

On the 20th July I walked through the town with Mr Wilson, one of the commissioners for carrying through the railway from Quebec to St Andrew's. The streets are very narrow, and in the lower town the houses are mostly of wood; the ware-rooms, however, being of stone. We crossed the river in a team, a small boat, the paddles of which are driven by horses. Every half hour one crosses from the Quay to Point Levi. There is a good hotel at Point Levi, and not far from it is the village of St Joseph's. Nearer the banks of the river than the village was an encampment of about ten families of Indians, whose huts or wigwams were made of small branches put up in the form of a cone, 31 so low as not to permit a person of ordinary size to stand erect in them. They sit on the ground with their legs crossed. Some of them spoke English, but all had the true Indian features, and were very unlike the inhabitants of Lorette, being much darker and more squalid. Some of them

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had scarcely enough of clothing to cover their nakedness, and the children were entirely naked. They fish, hunt, and make small toys, such as canoes, baskets, and moccasins, a kind of Indian shoe, supporting themselves in this manner during summer, and in winter betaking themselves to the woods to hunt. Their mode of life and manners seemed of the rudest kind, so as to exhibit man in his least pleasing aspect, and to excite in a European emotions of sorrow and sympathy. When we entered their wigwams they seemed rather annoyed, but although they did not relish our visit, they made signs for money.

Next day I continued my walks through the town, the irregularity, narrowness, and bad condition of the streets striking me still more. Deep ruts were of frequent occurrence, and the limestone side pavements very ill constructed, the stones being placed without any regard to smoothness of surface, so that, unless continually on the look-out, a person is liable to stumble or fall almost every step. I went to the Circus, which was well attended, and saw Cole ride two horses. Although a very strong man, he is inferior to Ducrow. A dog ascended a ladder, and a small pony picked up a basket when desired, and selected a certain card out of six which was asked for by one of the company. At eight 32 o'clock, P.M. I left Quebec by the Canadian Eagle steamer for Montreal.

The morning of the 22d July was fine, and disclosed the most beautiful scenery, the banks being low on both sides, and scattered with houses and cultivated fields, while now and then a wooded island was passed. To my surprise, I found on board an old acquaintance, who had been in Canada for four years, a son of the late Dr Smith of Dunse. We were delighted to meet each other. I gave him all the news from home, and he favoured me in return with an account of his adventures. The hardships he had encountered were extreme; he had been engaged in the lumber trade, bringing down rafts to Quebec, and assured me, that, had he known what he was to undergo, he would not have left his native country. The life of a rafter he represented as laborious in the highest degree. These people go up a large river many hundred miles, in small skiffs, carrying with them coffee, sugar, flour, potatoes, and sometimes a little pork, and depending on their guns for a supply of fresh provisions, which they occasionally obtain when they fall in with a deer or a

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fox. Sometimes also they may barter a little flour, potatoes, or tobacco, for a piece of deer or buffalo, should they meet with a party of Indians. When they have reached a suitable place in the forest, they select a spot where the timber is large, and near the bank of the river, and there they build two or three shanties, or small log-houses, according to their number, one man taking the charge of the whole adventure. This person has engaged 33 with a merchant at Montreal or Quebec to take him down a raft of a certain size, and of a particular kind of wood. And now, having settled for a time in the woods, they ply their laborious trade. When the wood has been felled, cleaned, and dragged to the stream, it is packed into a raft, the management of which calls forth additional labour. Sometimes it is broken asunder by a stone or rock in the river, when it drifts, and is with great difficulty put together again. It indeed rarely happens that they get a raft down to its destination without injury. On the large rafts, which are valued at from L.2000 to L.3000, they put up small cabins to creep into, and shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather. In general they are wet day and night, and when the weather is bad suffer severely.

The steamer stopped at Fort William Henry, or Sorelle, for half an hour, to take in fire-wood, so that I had an opportunity of visiting the village, which was very neat and cleanly; the houses either frame or log, and a large grass square in the centre, which gives it a handsome appearance. The Commander-in-chief of Lower Canada has a house here. After passing Sorelle, the channel of the river divides, and the separate branches of the Attawa join the St Lawrence. To the east are seen lofty mountains covered with wood, and in the west a large hill, at the base of which stands Montreal, having the island of St Helen's in front.

On landing, I went to the Exchange Coffee-house, to which I had been recommended by the landlord of the Albion. Rasco's Hotel is the most B 2 34 fashionable, but I had heard complaints of want of attention to the guests in it. Both are in St Paul's Street, which runs parallel to the river, and at a distance from the quay. Almost all the Americans frequent the Exchange, which is kept by two Yankees, Cady and Doolittle. The hours of meal were

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eight o'clock for breakfast, from twelve to two for lunch, five for dinner, and half-past seven for tea. The board 7s. 6d. per diem.

Next day I walked through the town, which is much larger than Quebec. The houses are better than those of that city, the warerooms more spacious, and the streets wider. The best is Notre Dame Street, in which, and now forming part of a square, stands the Cathedral, the most magnificent building in the town. It has been recently finished, and is neatly fitted up. The other first-class street is St Paul's, in which is the Custom-House. Lieutenants Weir and Balfour of the 32d regiment called for me. The former being engaged in looking after a horse that he was to run, left us, and I went out with the latter to the museum, which contains a small collection, purchased by subscription. There are several nunneries in the town, of which the largest is the Hotel Dieu, rendered notorious by Maria Monk's publication.

July 24th. I took a stroll in the morning with Mr Smith, proceeding up the river St Lawrence, with the large hill or mountain, as it is called, on our right. On our return we parted, and I went to the Scottish Church, near the Exchange Coffee-house, which is a very small building, and little 35 frequented. Mr Kinnear having called for me next morning, we hired a calash for a dollar, and drove round the mountain. There are a good many cottages in the neighbourhood, which are neat and cleanly, although most of them want the air of comfort so characteristic of the French cottages. They belong chiefly to Irish. To the north-west of the great hill the view over the extensive plain is truly magnificent, and is bounded by a distant ridge of mountains. The prospect here reminded me of the plains of Lombardy, as you look down upon them from the top of the Duomo at Milan. The soil is generally good, but badly cultivated, and the fields are for the most part small. Driving round the hill, we came to a cleft in it, through which the road leads to the other side, where there is an equally splendid prospect. The long scattered town lies at your feet, beyond it is the mighty St Lawrence, attached to which is a large tract of flat country beautifully wooded, and the view is terminated by a chain of hills covered with trees. The Catholic church forms a distinguished feature in the town, rising to a great height over the other buildings. The

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evening was spent agreeably at the quarters of my hospitable friend Balfour, Where I met Mr Tod and Mr Blackwood.

July 26th. After breakfast I called on Mr Forsyth, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and found him in his counting-house, where he conducts business on a great scale. He afterwards returned my call, but I saw nothing more of him. I next waited on Lieutenant Gardner, whom I had met at 36 Quebec, and who introduced me to his wife. Returning to my hotel, I found Stewart, with whom I went to the quay, where we hired a boat for half a dollar, to take us over to St Helen's Island, which is about a mile off, and fronting the town. The current is very strong, and there are several small rapids. We crossed in half an hour, with two men rowing us, and landed on the island, when the sentry accosted us. We asked for Captain M'Bean, who commands the fort, and with whom Stewart was acquainted. He invited us into his house, and showed us much civility, as did his wife. The captain sent his nephew to conduct us round the island, which is about a mile in length, and has at the cast end a small fort, in which are kept the military stores, protected by a party of seventy artillerymen. There are two or three cottages, round one of which is a large orchard; another, which was occupied by Sir Charles Ney, one of the commissioners for the Canadas, has some fine sycamore trees in front. Nothing but hay is cultivated on the island, although it appears to have a good soil, and is covered with plenty of wood, which gives it a very beautiful appearance. An old sycamore was pointed out to us, beneath which the cession of the Canadas was made by the French to the British. Near it are the remains of a mud fort built by the French when the country belonged to them. We returned to dinner.

July 27th. Went down after breakfast to the coffee-room off the bar, read the newspapers, and looked over the travellers' book, in which every 37 one puts down his name, and the number of his room. This is an excellent plan, and saves time and trouble to the landlord and servants. Any one calling for a friend has only to inspect the book, where he sees the number of his room, to which he goes, and if he does not find him, leaves his card at the bar, without putting a single question to any one person. Went out to the Exchange News

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Rooms to see the English papers. All strangers are admitted, if introduced by a subscriber, who puts down their names in a book kept for the purpose. After rambling about the town until near five o'clock, I went to dinner, at Kinnear's, where I met Balfour, who afterwards accompanied me to the quay, where we went on board a steamer, to be taken to Three Rivers to see the races. There was a large company on board, and all the berths were taken.

Next morning, at five o'clock, we found ourselves at our intended place of destination, a small town, containing about 2000 inhabitants, and went to a Madame Duval's house in search of Lieutenant Weir, whom we found in bed. We had some difficulty in getting accommodation, all the taverns being crowded. Duval at last consented to give us quarters. I hired a calash, and drove about a mile out of the town, to the race course, from which a splendid view of the river is obtained. There were about two thousand spectators at the races, many of them in calashes and four-wheeled open carriages. Lord Gosford appeared in an open carriage drawn by four grey horses. He left it, however, and walked about, the ladies who were with him getting up on the 38 stand beside a number of others. The races lasted from one to five o'clock the first day, and finished the following.

Next day I started in the steamer for Montreal, where we arrived at six in the morning, when I returned to the American Hotel. This and the following day were spent in strolling about the town.

A gentleman with whom I had conversed in the steamer I found to be a Count Luckner, who was travelling with Mr Ellice, one of the British ministers, and a nephew of the latter. Mr Ellice has extensive possessions in Lower Canada, which he had been to visit with the count. The nephew was a pleasant young man, had travelled in Europe, and talked with me on the romantic scenery of the Alps and Appenines; but the uncle was proud and reserved, and seemed to consider it beneath his dignity to converse with any one on board. This conduct, of course, made the count also reserved. The party left at Prescott for Ogdensburgh, on their way to New York.

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At the table d'hôte in my hotel, where many of the respectable merchants of Montreal have their meals, and often sit an hour or so after dinner, I heard several conversations relative to the politics of Lower Canada. They seemed to be of the same opinion as is prevalent in Quebec, and condemned the vacillating policy of the British government, both in making concessions to the French party, and in refusing some of their demands. There being a majority of the French in the House of Assembly, the supplies of the country had been stopped for 39 two or three years, to the great inconvenience of thousands. The salaries of the judges and officers could not be paid, and, of course, many individuals were reduced to a state of starvation. They were unanimous in condemning the policy of the secretary for the colonies, just as if he could dictate the measures requisite in Canada, who scarcely knew any thing at all of the country. It is well known, that even private individuals, when their inclinations or pursuits call them to a distance from home, must empower a friend to manage their concerns during their absence, and to that friend they must give uncontrollable power, especially when they are to be long absent, many unforeseen circumstances occurring that require prompt attention. It is therefore quite absurd to suppose that Lord Glenelg, or even the British ministry, could dictate the measures necessary for conducting the government of Canada. The distance is of itself sufficient to prevent such an attempt; besides, the statements of affairs made to them are in too many cases incorrect. Their attempt to lay down rules for the guidance of the governor and commissioners has met with the result which any one having moderate powers of comprehension might foresee. The commissioners are at variance, and the rules laid down for them are contradictory. The present state of the colony indicates, that at no remote period it will have recourse to its own resources, and bid farewell to its parent. The means now used by our government are hastening this result; just as when a mother, forgetting that her children have attained 40 maturity, prescribes for their conduct the same regulations which they were bound to observe in infancy. Such conduct obliterates from their minds all her former kindness, and they leave her to seek their fortunes. In a few years the Canadas will be able to stand on their own resources, and the sooner the British government puts them on their own feet the better. So long as she feeds

them without teaching them the use of the spoon, it is not to be expected that they will feed themselves. Each colony ought to support itself, and there is not the smallest doubt that it would, were it left to itself, and were there not thrust upon it a crowd of pensioners, the burden of which will not always be borne. To adopt this course would be of the utmost benefit to the Canadas, the amicable separation of which from the mother country would prove equally beneficial to the latter, although it is probable that when a rupture takes place, it will be in anger, not in peace, and will be followed by hatred and animosity.

CHAPTER III. UPPER CANADA.

Route from Montreal to Lachine, Cascades, Coteau de Lac, Cornwall, Prescott, Kingston, and Coburg on Lake Ontario.—Newcastle District.—Account of a “Logging-bee.”—Toronto.—Hamilton.—Dundas.—Mode of Reaping.—Wooden Fences.—Disease in Pigs.—Roads.—Game.—Comparative advantage of Passage from Britain by Quebec and New York discussed.—Remarks on Emigration to Canada.—Sum necessary to a Settler.—Progress of Cultivation.—Discouragements.—Certainty of ultimate Success.—Guelph, Waterloo, Goderich.—Passage from Goderich to Detroit on Lake Huron.

On the 1st of August, I left Montreal in a coach drawn by six well-conditioned grey horses, and holding twelve inside passengers. Being very strong and rather clumsy, this vehicle reminded me of the Saxon coaches, which, however, are of neater construction. Two or three coaches leave Montreal at half-past ten every morning, according as there are passengers, for Lachine, on the route to Toronto and elsewhere on Lake Ontario. We proceeded up the right bank of the St Lawrence for nine miles, and arriving at Lachine, went on board a steamer 42 which awaited us, and were carried up Lake Peter, an expansion of the St Lawrence. The scenery here is very beautiful, but, owing to the lowness of the banks, and the flatness of the interior, less picturesque than below Quebec. The steamer landed us at a small village named Cascades, on account of the rapids in its vicinity, where coaches were in waiting to carry us to Coteau de Lac. The road, which passes along the St Lawrence, is good, and conducted us through a richly wooded

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country, in which were many fine farms. Several beautiful small islands adorned the St Lawrence, which also presented a number of rapids. The distance from Lachine to Cascades is twenty-four miles, and from the latter to Coteau de Lac sixteen. At the latter place is a small village, where another steamer waited to carry the passengers to Cornwall. We went on board immediately, and secured berths for the night, it being past seven o'clock. There were about twenty passengers. The St Lawrence here is about two miles in breadth, but as the voyage was performed under night, little could be seen. At five in the morning, having traversed a space of forty-one miles, we arrived at Cornwall, a pretty little village, whence we proceeded up the north bank of the St Lawrence, by coach to Dickenson's Landing. The distance is twelve miles, and the country very beautiful. As the river here runs in some parts with great rapidity, the navigation is dangerous, and a canal is at present in progress between Cornwall and the place just mentioned, where there are only two or three houses, and where we arrived at half-past eight. We had to wait twenty minutes for the arrival of the steamer, which leaves Prescott in the morning, and makes the passage down in four and a half hours, but takes nearly double the time in going up, the current being very strong. We breakfasted on board, and proceeded up the river, which is for the most part very narrow, owing to its being separated into two or three distinct streams. Opposite Prescott is Ogdensburgh, in the state of New York, a pretty village. The distance from Dickenson's Landing to Prescott is thirty-eight miles. At the latter place we found a boat ready to start for Kingston. They keep a bugle on board, which is sounded on leaving and calling at the different ports. In going up the St Lawrence, we passed Brockville, twelve miles distant from Prescott, and at which commence the "Thousand Islands," which leave the main channel very narrow. The scenery here is highly romantic; but night coming on, I was prevented from seeing so much of it as I could have wished. We arrived at Kingston, sixty miles distant from Brockville, at six in the morning, and stopped there five hours. It is a neatly constructed town, many of the houses being built of stone, and is said to contain a population of 10,000. Opposite to it, about a mile distant, is Fort Henry, which is only in progress, on a plan similar to that of the fortifications at Quebec. The St Lawrence forms a large basin here, and on the neck of land jutting

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out opposite Kingston is the fort. There is a rather curious wooden bridge over the basin. Lake Ontario, which is considered as 44 commencing at Kingston, is an expansion of the St Lawrence. Its breadth above Kingston is ten miles; and when we had passed some islands, it widened so much, that land was scarcely perceptible. We called at Oswego, on the American side, a rather neat little town, belonging to the state of New York, and remained there about an hour. On board I met with a Mr Thomson, from Berwickshire, with whom I was acquainted, and his brother-in-law, Mr Howden. Next morning, at six, we reached Coburg, which is a hundred and seventy miles distant from Brockville. The fare from Montreal to Prescott was L.1, 10s., and from the latter place to Coburg, L.1, 5s.

Having hired a horse from Mr Strong, of the American Hotel, near the pier, I joined Mr Thomson, and a Mr Hickston, an Irishman, whom we met at the hotel, and started for Peterborough. About a mile from Coburg, which, like most of the places on this route, is a neat small town, is the county-hall and jail, a rather handsome stone building. We passed several well cultivated farms, and saw a number of excellent fields of wheat and oats. The road, however, was very bad, there being no stones on it, and numberless ruts. About eighteen miles from Coburg, we came to a clearing in the forest, which is an Irish settlement, and dined at a small inn. Farther on were several farms, on which were good crops. Peterborough, which is thirty-five miles from Coburg, is very romantically situated on a rising ground overlooking the river Ottanabe, which runs into Rice Lake. After remaining there a few 45 hours, I crossed the river by a ferry-boat, which the current carries across, it being attached to a wheel running along a rope stretched over the river, and arrived at Mr S. Cunningham's, where I staid all night.

I remained in the Newcastle district nine days, principally in the township of Duro, where several of my friends were settled. One day I called on Mr Traill, whose lady has published an account of Canada, and another day went with Mr Carnegie to a *logging-bee* at his neighbour F.'s. There were about six acres to log, and he had collected about twenty of his neighbours, or their servants, as those who could not work were obliged to find substitutes. There were five yokes of oxen, and generally four, but sometimes only three, men to a

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yoke, with a boy to drive. To the yoke over the necks of the oxen is fastened a long chain, with a hook at the end, and this chain is put round a log, which is thus dragged to the pile. Two of my friends, myself, and a servant, were attached to one of the yokes, which was driven by a boy. When the logs, which vary from ten to fifteen feet in length, and from one to two and a half in diameter, were brought to the pile, we laid them on in a proper manner. After the first layer was arranged, the rest of the logs were hoisted on with handspikes; the heaps vary from four to five feet in height, and are not made too large, so as to burn with facility. This is a very laborious part of the operation, especially when the logs are heavy; and if they should slip, you are in danger of getting your leg broken, or even of losing your life. We 46 worked hard all day from nine, and logged about three acres. At one we had dinner in the barn, masters and servants together, without distinction. Two young Englishmen were present, but did not assist, and were therefore laughed at. They disliked the country after three years' trial, and were on their way home. In the evening we had a dance, and were otherwise agreeably entertained until one in the morning, when we walked home, but were entangled in a wood, where we groped about for two hours, although the distance we had to go was only half a mile. On another occasion I visited Lake Clear, where three of us lay out in a deserted shantie, the smallest description of log-house, resembling in shape a pig-stye, baked our bread, and roasted potatoes. The scenery of this lake is very beautiful, and its numerous wooded islands, its romantic banks, and dense forests, inhabited by woodpeckers, and other gaudy birds, wolves, and squirrels, merit a more extended encomium. Having thus amused myself among my friends, I returned to Coburg, and was conveyed by the steamer up Lake Ontario to Toronto, a distance of sixty-seven miles.

On the 14th August I met at Toronto my brother Ninian, who introduced me to a Mr M'Knight, with whom he had sailed from Liverpool. After dinner we rode in his drosky some miles out of town. Toronto is a small straggling place, with very long streets, good shops, a large Assembly House, government offices, and several hotels. It is prettily situated on the side of a basin formed by Lake 47 Ontario. Next day my brother and I left Toronto

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at half-past two in a steamer for Hamilton, which is at the head of the lake in the Bay of Burlington, and forty miles distant. For some time after leaving Toronto, we could hardly descry the opposite shore, which, however, gradually became more apparent. We arrived at the quay at the head of the lake at seven o'clock, and were taken with our luggage by a coach to the hotel, a distance of a mile, without any charge. Here I met a Mr Paterson and a Mr Wyld, the former of whom I had known in Edinburgh.

Next day my brother having brought his waggon, in which he drove two horses, to Hamilton, and left it there, we started at six in the morning, and proceeded along a good road to Dundas, four miles distant. The soil appears to be light, but the country was well cultivated, and the crops were good; the settlers were principally Dutch, some wealthy. Farther on we passed several farms with small clearings, but nothing of much interest occurred until we arrived at my brother's settlement, which is twelve miles distant from Dundas, on the road to Guelph. He has 60 acres of cleared land, on 18 of which was an excellent crop of wheat. There were four acres of oats, two of potatoes, the remainder being in grass. About 20 acres were unlogged. The wheat, which is generally sown whenever the land is cleared, is liable to be rusted. There are several large clearings in his neighbourhood. A Mr Paterson, who also keeps a tavern, has about 100 acres cleared; a Mr M'Niel 40 acres. The wages for servants doing harvest work are a dollar a-day, 4s. 6d. sterling. The crops are cut with the cradle or scythe. A man in this manner can cut an acre and a half in a day, and keep another fully occupied in raking and binding. I remained sixteen days with my brother, and assisted in stooking and forking, as well as in cutting the oats with a sickle.

The wheat being ripe, he commenced cutting on the 24th August, when two of his neighbours came with cradles. We all turned out at six o'clock, A.M., there being three cradlers and three binders. My brother and I undertook to put up the corn into stooks. My brother's two bondmen, one of whom was an Englishman, could not keep up with their cradlers, so that he was obliged to assist them in binding; but the other binder, being more active, and having been several years in Canada, kept pace with his cradler. The large

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thistles, some of them seven feet high, caused us great annoyance. We went home to breakfast at eight, returned in an hour, worked until one, when we had dinner, resumed our labour at two, and continued until six. It is customary to give to every two men a bottle of whisky to mix with the water. The food for breakfast is porridge and milk, for dinner pork and potatoes. My brother having repeatedly found fault with the Englishman for the slovenly manner in which he bound his sheaves, the latter became insolent, told him he might bind them as he pleased, and finally demanded his wages, that he might quit instantly. Fortunately I had some money in my pocket, which answered the purpose, and my brother ⁴⁹ was well pleased to get rid of the drone, although he had difficulty in procuring another servant. Most of the farm-servants become addicted to drinking, and when sent any distance are sure to come home in a state of intoxication. The three cradlers cut five acres daily, so that the eighteen acres of wheat were all reaped in less than four days. Much corn is wasted, both because the cradler scatters it about too much, and because the binder is too much hurried to keep up with him. What is left in the field, however, is used for fattening pigs. In three or four days more, we had it all in the stack-yard. The leading was a very tedious operation. We had a pair of oxen in a waggon with sides, and a pair of horses in a sleigh. My brother drove the sleigh, his friend the waggon; his man built the stack, and I forked. Even an empty cart has much difficulty in steering among the stumps. At every stook I was obliged to consider how I was to get to the next, and almost every load was twice overturned before it got out of the field. Sometimes the waggon would stick fast between two stumps, and much time was lost in extricating it.

The cross zigzag fences, being rails laid upon each other, are very convenient, as they can be taken up and down at pleasure. Sometimes, however, the oxen get a practice of knocking them down, when they are called breach oxen. In purchasing a yoke, care should be taken to ascertain whether they have this habit or not.

There is a disease among the pigs, which, so far ^{C 50} as I could learn, has not got a name. Two fine brood swine belonging to my brother, one of them having fourteen pigs, died of it while I was with him. It seems of a spasmodic nature: the animal suffers much

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pain, and dies in four or five hours from the commencement of the symptoms. No cure has been discovered. Water and salt, and cutting the ear and tail, were tried, but without effect. He had about twenty others, but only these two were affected, and they were carried off in the same day. It is difficult to rear lambs or calves, as the wolves carry them off. My brother lost several in this manner.

The eighteen acres of wheat on his farm would yield about 360 bushels, which would fetch a dollar the bushel. From the four acres of oats he did not expect above eighty bushels, as they were on marshy ground, and part of them did not ripen. At three-fourths of a dollar per bushel, this would come to 37½ dollars. He had also three acres of hay, two acres of potatoes, and an acre of turnips. The rest of his cleared land was in grass. My brother's system of cropping was the following:—On newly cleared land ready for sowing by August, always winter wheat; sometimes, however, if the land has been cleared earlier, this of course being dependent on the season, he is enabled to plant potatoes or sow turnips; but he can find very few who will contract to clear and fence sooner than July or August; after wheat, oats, sometimes potatoes, then wheat sown with Timothy grass. The cleared land requires great attention in keeping it free of the shoots from the stumps of the hard wood, raspberries, and thistles, which latter are very abundant.

He drives to market to Dundas generally in the winter, when the snow is firm enough to bear the oxen and sleigh. They travel about two miles an hour, thus taking six hours on the way, and though he keeps two bondsmen, he generally drives to market himself, as he cannot trust his men. But when there is no snow, their progress is much slower, as the road is very bad and swampy. Logs are laid across the worst places, which are, therefore, said to be *corduroyed*, and they are so full of ruts, that in this state the oxen take a whole day to go, and seldom get home until late next day. Sometimes the waggon or sleigh breaks down, and unless the driver knows something of joiner work, he may have to go home for another. This will occupy the whole day with oxen, and of course the articles in the waggon are exposed until he returns. Then after getting another waggon, and taking home the load, he has to go back with a joiner for the one that has broken

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down. Every young man settling in the country should have a practical knowledge of smith and carpenter work, which he would find of the greatest benefit. My brother has to send six miles to a smith, and four to a carpenter, which is a very heavy expense to him. The greatest dandies who go out to Canada to buy land, are seen in the course of a year driving their own waggons, and wielding an axe. They see all around them at work, and shame compels them to lend a hand. After a little practice, 52 they find labour so advantageous to their health and prosperity, that they are in little danger of relapsing into idleness.

When you wish to have fresh meat, and therefore intend to kill a sheep or an ox, it is customary to ascertain what quantity your neighbours want. They again treat you in the same manner. It is seldom that money passes between neighbours, almost every thing being bartered. Even when one kills a deer, he generally sends a part to those in his neighbourhood.

I went out two days in search of game, carrying a rifle one day, and a double-barrelled gun the other, but only saw two deer at a distance, and shot a single grouse, or pheasant, so called. Indeed, the sport is very poor. If you chance to come upon a flock of pheasants, you may kill most of them, as they generally rise from the ground and alight on the nearest tree, when, if you shoot the lowest in succession, the rest will stupidly remain. They are very tame, not being used to the gun, and their flesh is white, and affords delicate eating. The Canadians call them partridges, and some consider them to be pheasants, but properly speaking they are neither, being of the species denominated by naturalists the Canada Grouse, *Tetrao Canadensis*, of which the characters and habits will be found amply detailed in the writings of Audubon and Wilson. I shot a few wood pigeons of the species named by the same author *Columba migratoria*. They travel in flocks in spring, and are very abundant.

There was no church for many miles around my 53 brother's residence, and many of the settlers rarely hear a sermon above twice a-year.

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Suppose a young man about to emigrate to Canada, whose parents can advance him a few hundred pounds, to make him comfortable, and provide as far as possible against his taking a dislike to the country, (which many do after the first year's trial,) it would be well to make the following calculations. Even were he intending to go to Upper Canada, where few foreigners are settled, it would be cheaper to go by Quebec than by New York:—

From Greenock to Quebec, including steward's fee, L. 16 0 0

I paid L.15, 10s. Mr E. having a family, paid less. He may have letters of introduction to Quebec or Montreal, and may there spend three days in each at 8s. per day, 2 8 0

Fare to Montreal from Quebec in steamer's first cabin, 1 10 0

The brig in which I sailed advertised Quebec and Montreal. On reaching the former, the captain said he was not sure whether he should go to Montreal or not, as this depended on his getting a freight at Quebec. All on board remonstrated, alleging that he was bound to take us to Montreal; but on looking at our receipts for the passage money, we found it only to Quebec.

Carry forward, L.19 18 0

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Brought forward, L.19 18 0

Fare to Prescott by coach and steamer, nearly two days, 1 10 0

Expenses, 0 12 0

Fare to Toronto, 2 0 0

Expenses, 0 10 0

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Outlay to Toronto, L.24 10 0

On the other hand, the expenses by way of New York would be as follows:—

Steamer from Glasgow to Liverpool, L.1 10 0

Passage money to New York by packet ship, 30 10 0

Six days at New York, at 2 dollars per diem, 2 8 0

From New York to Toronto, 7 0 0

L.41 8 0

By this route L.40 at the very least would be expended, and I am of opinion that a person would not reach Toronto sooner this way than by Quebec. From Greenock to Quebec I was 33 days, and in less than six more I could have been at Toronto. The average passage to New York is 35 days, and three days more to Toronto, make 38. Besides, one ought to consider that by going to Quebec he patronises his countrymen, whereas by New York he patronises foreigners, and this every true patriot ought to remember. Look at the money thrown into the hands of the Americans last year: there were upwards of 70,000 emigrants landed at New York, 55 averaging L.6 each, giving to the Americans of passage money alone L.420,000, besides a large sum spent in travelling through the States. If he has letters to merchants or others in Quebec, Montreal, Prescott, Brockville, or Coburg, they may be of use to him in after life, for some of these persons may have customers or correspondents in the place where he intends to settle, to whom they may recommend him; or the merchant, knowing the place and its resources, may advise him to turn his attention to commercial pursuits. In his turn, the emigrant may be of use to the merchant, by apprising him of the capabilities of the district in which he has settled. In Canada there, is a wide field for speculation in every trade, and with much probability of success, although the returns are in kind, and require an opening for their disposal.

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Letters of introduction may, therefore, be of use to both parties. In general, the merchants of the colonies are hospitable, although I have met with exceptions; and it is true that they require to be guarded, owing to the many attempts at swindling made by young men of respectable connexions; for unfortunately those who are incorrigible at home are often sent to the colonies, where, although they have a narrower field, they try their old tricks.

At Toronto the emigrant is in the capital of Upper Canada, and only 155 miles from Goderich on Lake Huron. Of course, if he has much farther to travel, he must calculate his expenses. If he wishes to go to Hamilton, at the head of Lake Ontario, there is a steamer every day which runs in six 56 hours, and the fare is ten shillings; but suppose his whole expenses to be L.10 0 0

and that he arrives in May or June, he will have no difficulty in getting a farm partly cleared. Say that he purchases one of 150 acres, of which 20 are cleared. This will cost him, at four dollars per acre, for 130 117 0 0

For the cleared land at 20 dollars per acre, 90 0 0

For house, furniture, &c., 50 0 0

A yoke of oxen, 20 0 0

Waggon and sledge, 20 0 0

Plough and other implements, 30 0 0

Cow, pigs, poultry, &c., 20 0 0

Hire of labourers for harvest, and other incidental expenses, 5 0 0

Hire of a man for a year, and of his wife for attending the house, 35 0 0

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House-expenses for a year, 20 0 0

Say a contract is entered into with some neighbours during the winter, at 14 dollars per acre, clearing, fencing, and ploughing, 30 0 0

Wages of man and woman for another year, 35 0 0

Other incidental expenses, including repairs, whisky to men, &c., 5 0 0

L.487 0 0

Say in all L.500.

There are no doubt hundreds in Canada who have 57 not had half of this sum; but how do they live?—on porridge, potatoes, and salt, with the work of a day labourer.

In the above estimate it is assumed that the emigrant has let ten acres to be cleared. The contractor must be bound down to have it fenced and in order at the latest by the first of August, so that by the time the harvest is over, these ten acres will be ready for being sown with winter wheat, the seed for which must be looked for at a neighbour's, where it is freest of impurities. It does not answer to sow the seed grown on the farm itself. The settler, besides, ought to have cleared other ten acres during the winter, on which potatoes may be planted, or wheat or oats sown. He will thus have forty acres cleared, which, with judicious management, will support him; and he may go on year after year clearing his property. At the end of the third year he ought to have an hundred acres clear and under tillage. But it will be seven years before the stumps are sufficiently decomposed to allow the oxen to drag them down. It will not be judicious to clear more out of the 150 than 100, as the rest must remain for firewood.

No parent should send his son to Canada with less than L.500, otherwise he will get into difficulties, contract debts, and in a few years return without a shilling in his pocket. But

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with L.500, exclusive of his outfit, he is amply provided for. He ought to be furnished with two or three suits of the most substantial kinds of clothes: for summer, fustian or strong duck; for winter, stout cloth and corduroy. 58 Two or three pairs of blankets, several pairs of shoes, some books, and other articles, are to be added. The whole may cost about L.30.

Now, on the interest of L.500, the parent cannot maintain his son at home; and by giving him so much he provides for him for life. A parent with a large family, who has the above sum to spare, cannot lay it out in a more judicious manner, as he thus provides for himself and his offspring, rendering them ever after independent. No doubt, were he to go to the State of Illinois, or the other western prairie states of America, he could get land for five shillings per acre, which has only to be fenced. But this is laborious; the fences being of turf, the ploughing is sometimes very difficult; and there are obstacles in the way of getting land there of one's own choice. To this subject, however, I shall revert on another occasion.

Many young men go out to Canada with five or six hundred pounds, buy land with the half, shortly after spend the other half on horses and dogs, or at the tavern, and then *clear out*, that is—after getting into debt, and cheating every one, run over to the United States. Others, who do not frequent taverns, yet live in the same style as that to which they were accustomed at home, hire men to chop, and before a sufficient number of acres is cleared to pay the expense of their labourers, run short of money, when being themselves unable to work, they get into debt, and clear out. Canada is adapted only for the industrious and persevering, who are sure to succeed in the end, after a severe trial of some 59 years. A man expert at chopping can cut down ten or twelve acres in four months. The wood generally lies until summer before they can burn it, previous to which it must be logged, that is, put into heaps. Oxen are generally used to drag the large logs to the heap with a chain, and three or four men are sometimes required to raise it on handspokes. When the wood is heavy, four men are usually required to a yoke of oxen. When twelve or fourteen acres of wood are cut, they sometimes have logging-bees, such as I have described

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above. The owner goes round and invites his neighbours to assist him. In this way five or six acres may be logged in a day, and made ready for burning, which is deferred until late in spring, as it requires dry weather. Sometimes a crop of potatoes, oats, or turnips, is obtained that summer, but more commonly, if a good many acres have been chopped in the winter, it takes the spring to log the wood, and it is burnt off in summer, and made ready for winter wheat, which is generally sown in the beginning of September, and grows a very strong crop.

The country from Hamilton to Guelph is undulated. The best land is between Dundas and the latter place. There are a few swamps and swails: by which last term is meant ground not entirely boggy, and which, on being cleared of wood, dries and yields good crops.

Desirous of seeing some of the Western States, and taking on my way Lakes Huron and Superior, on the 2d September I rode to Guelph, about twelve miles distant, accompanied by my brother. The road was good, and the country well cleared on both sides. The crops, however, were late, and seemed light. This village, which has a population of about 700, is prettily situated on a sloping hill of considerable height. There are three churches, all frame, an English, a Scotch, and a Catholic—the last on a height above the village. It is eighty miles south-west from Toronto. At the bottom of the hill is a small stream, a branch of the Ouse, on which are a grist-mill and a distillery, belonging to a Mr Allan, with whom we breakfasted, my brother being acquainted with him. He is a well informed, active, and enterprising man, and had resided many years in Sweden. His eldest son, who inherits his father's talents, is an ingenious mechanic, having with his own hands erected the distillery. Possessing a practical knowledge of the crafts of the carpenter, millwright, and smith, he is provided for all contingencies. After breakfast we rode through the Guelph township by the Goderich road, which we found in good condition. The country was well cleared, and the crops, although later than near Dundas, were good. About five or six miles from Guelph, the fields are free of stumps, and of considerable size; the settlers principally Dutch.

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The next township we entered is Waterloo, which is among the oldest settlements of the district, and accordingly exhibited large clearings, free of stumps along the road, which is good. The soil, however, is much lighter, sand predominating over the clay, so that the crops are lighter, especially of wheat. In this township one can see to some distance around, owing to the many clearings and the undulating nature of the ground; whereas in most of the others the view is extremely limited. We dined at Jones' Tavern, on the road-side, having ridden twenty-five miles since breakfast. It is in the township of Wilmot, of which the soil is rather better than that of Waterloo. After dinner, at which tea was presented, the landlady waiting, we rode eighteen miles, and put up at night in Fryfogle's Tavern, a small house, kept by a Dutchman. There were fewer clearings by the road in the last eighteen miles, and all the houses were either log or frame, the former more numerous. There is generally a tavern on the roadside every eight or ten miles.

Starting at six next morning we rode to the Avon river, where there is a large tavern, with good accommodation, kept by an Irishman of the name of Sargeant, whom we found an attentive landlord. We crossed the river, which is very small, by a wooden bridge. The Canada Company have grist-mills here. For five or six miles we found good clearing, but afterwards scarcely any. The road is good, having been cut by the company; but although this is an inducement to settlers, land in the Gore district is high, as the company do not sell unless they get a remunerating price. In this tract we crossed two small rivers, the Thames and the Carnbrook. In the township of Logan, eight miles from Carnbrook, we dined at a small inn, kept by a Mr Colhoun, an Englishman, who had apparently seen better days, and had been two years there. It commenced raining soon after we left his house, and continued all the way to Goderich, nineteen miles distant, where we arrived in the evening, after passing some very good clearings. We had ridden 110 miles with ease in two days.

In the morning we crossed by a ferry the River Maitland, which runs into Lake Huron, on the north of Goderich, and walked up to a small clearing made by a Dutch nobleman,

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who has built a neat house commanding a view of the lake. He owns a large tract of land, but does not reside in the country. There is no other clearing close on the lake, but farther up the river there are several in the township of Colburn, in which resides the "Backwoodsman," who has a beautiful spot, and is much respected in his neighbourhood. After walking through the woods for about five hours, we returned and passed through the town, which is a straggling place, without streets, the houses being built according to the tastes of their owners. It is beautifully situated, however, and has four or five hundred inhabitants. Hamilton's Hotel, at which we put up, is within a stone-cast of the lake, and at a short distance from the wharf. After dinner I rode out a little way with my brother, who left me to return home.

Next day I took a walk along the shore, which is sandy, and rises abruptly into high banks. The lake, which is four hundred miles in length, presents the appearance of a sea, and its waves dash against the shores in the same manner as those of the ocean. Though the village stands at a considerable height, yet the grounds on which it is built are swampy. Crossing the Maitland river by a small skiff, I proceeded up its banks, passing the Dutch baron's, until I came to Captain Dunlop's cottage, built on a height overlooking the stream and lake, in a very romantic situation, the centre of an amphitheatre that seems to have been scooped out by the waters. The banks of the river are covered with rich verdure. Beyond the Doctor's a village is forming, four or five houses being already built.

On the 6th September, the steamer which runs between this and Sandwich, not having arrived, although she had been expected the day before, I walked out on the Guelph road, the weather being fine, but frosty. A Mr Don came up, and we saluted each other, he having accosted me the day before, saying, that he had seen me in Edinburgh, having met me at the Scots Law Class, four years ago. On that occasion, I was rather short with him, supposing him to be one of those who foist themselves on strangers, with sinister designs; but as he now asked me respecting some of his friends whom I knew, and stated that Mr Patrick Cockburn, accountant in Edinburgh, was his uncle, I recollected having seen his brother and sister at Mr Cockburn's, and was less reserved. Soon after, another gentleman

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came up, whom I had often seen in Edinburgh, and who recognizing me, although we had not been acquainted, accosted, me. He had travelled over Europe several years ago, and had at last come to Goderich, and bought land in the township of Colburn. When I met him, he had an ox's chain carrying round his body, and a piece of beef in his hand, which rendered his appearance very different from that formerly presented by him in the character of an Edinburgh dandy. He requested me to inform his friends that I had seen him in chains, and pressed me to come and see his house; 64 but as I expected the steamer, I could not accept his invitation. Don and I returned, and found the vessel just coming in. I asked him to dine with me at the hotel, which he did, and gave me some account of his proceedings. When he came out, he purchased 200 acres of land adjoining that of Mr Lizars, an Edinburgh bookseller, who had also emigrated, but after living on his farm for some time, he contrived to get the under clerkship of Deputy-Register, and gladly took up his residence in Goderich, heartily tired of living in the bush. About a year ago, he succeeded to the office of clerk to the Deputy-Register, his master having absconded with some of the funds. This gentleman had run in debt, and cheated all the tavern-keepers on his way to Toronto; for as he often travelled that road, he was well known to them. He was so much trusted, that one of the most respectable merchants charged him with a sealed letter, inclosing L.20, to be delivered in Toronto, but which he opened, and appropriated its contents. Several other young gentlemen had cleared out of this township; and, indeed, wherever I went I heard of similar occurrences.

Having risen at six next morning, I found that the steamer was just moving off. Fortunately, however, the hotel was near the wharf, and on hurrying down, I was received on board, the captain sending the small boat for me. The sail out into the lake, and along its eastern side, was very pleasant, the shores being much indented, with several fine semi-circular bays. About six in the evening, we got into the River St Clair. On the American side is a small fort called Gratiot, where a detachment of 65 soldiers is kept. They have also a light-house. On the British side, the ground is very swampy. About two miles down is a settlement of Indians, our government having built them houses. They live very peaceably

there, but, as might be expected, improve very slowly. Towards nine, the boat anchored for the night.

September 8th. Rising at seven A. M., I found we had got into Lake St Clair, which is eighteen miles in length. The day was fine. About eleven we entered Detroit River, which is very broad and deep, and has several windings. We soon saw the spires of Detroit, and came to anchor on the Canada side, at a ferry where a small steamer plies every half-hour to Detroit. I crossed and went to the American Hotel. The waiter would scarcely deign to answer my questions. When I went in, he was sitting at the bar whetting a knife. I asked him if he had any spare apartments; he said, "Yes, there are rooms in the house," but without so much as looking up. "Can I have one?" "Yes." "Do you keep a traveller's book?" "Yes." "Where is it?" He now looked up, and pointing opposite to where he sat, said, "There," I went and wrote my name, came back, and asked to see my room; on which he looked at the book, marked No. 3, and conducted me to a room on the first floor, containing four beds. I asked him if I could not have a single apartment. "No," he replied, in a surly manner. I then said I would go to another house, on which he turned round and left me. So I went to the Steam-boat Hotel, where I found the people more civil, and got a single apartment.

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CHAPTER IV. STATE OF MICHIGAN. THE LAKES.

Detroit.—Incivility of the people.—Unsocial habits of boarders at the Inns.—Unprosperous state of Sandwich on the Canada side.—Passage to Mackinaw in a schooner.—Accident by the way.—Character of the Crew.—Difficulty of finding accommodations at Mackinaw.—Kindness of General Swartz.—Passage to Sault St Marie in the Packet-boat.—The country unfavourable to grain.—Visit to Mr Jacob, an Indian Methodist Missionary.—Mr Bingham's School.—Rise of the River.—Maria Monk's statement supposed to be fabricated for party purposes.—General Dickson's scheme of conquering California.—

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Sail from Sault St Marie to Gros Cape on Lake Superior, and return.—Anecdotes of Mr Johnston and Mr Deer.—Account of the Indians of the Columbia River.

Having obtained accommodations at the Steam-boat Hotel, I went to inquire after a steamer to Mackinaw, and applied at several offices, but found their inmates so entirely absorbed in their own affairs, that I could scarcely get a word from them. Indeed, I never met with such uncivil conduct anywhere. On your entering an office, the clerks look at you, then immediately turn away; and if you ask a question, they limit their answer to a single monosyllable—yes or no. I had to go to several places before I could discover the office from which the first steamer went up the lake, and at Jones's learned that the one for Chicago did not come up from Buffalo until the 13th, but that there was loading at their wharf a schooner bound for the Green Bay, and intending to sail next day. On this I went and inquired for the captain, who, however, was not on board. On questioning the mate, I received the same brief and unsatisfactory answers as at the offices, and it appeared to me that the careless and indifferent manner shown to me was assumed, in consequence of their observing that I was a Briton. The greatest possible politeness on your part makes no difference on theirs; and the moment your question is answered, they go off to do any business they may have in hand, even should it be in another room, so that if you have more information to obtain, you must follow them up and down. When I asked the mate of the schooner where the captain was, he said he did not know, and walked away to another part of the vessel, where I was obliged to follow him, in order to be informed when I might call again. After, this I walked through the streets of Detroit, which is a neat little place, having a population of nearly 9000. The principal street is very wide, and there are several good hotels, at which the board is a dollar and a half per diem, for three meals—breakfast, dinner, and tea—at all of which great quantities of meat are consumed. When the dinner-bell was rung, there was a general rush to the room, as if they had not tasted food for several days. Not being so ravenous as it seemed to me they all must be, I waited until they had all entered, and in consequence could not find a place at the table. However, I had only to wait about six minutes, when one, having finished his meal, walked off, on

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which I occupied his place; but by this time almost every thing seemed cleared off, so that I with difficulty obtained a fragment of bread and a cup of coffee. I soon found out the reason of the rush to dinner, and, benefiting by my experience, pursued the same course as the rest.

Next morning, having risen at half-past seven, I went to the large room, where is the bar, at which are sold all kinds of liquors, and where all the guests assemble. After waiting about half-an-hour, I inquired if breakfast was ready, but was told by the bar-keeper that it was over, the usual hour being seven. However, I obtained some, and not being hurried, made a more comfortable meal than I had done since my arrival at Detroit. I then walked along the river, the side of which is well cultivated, although the land is light. The district is chiefly peopled by French, as is the Canadian side. Returning to dinner at one o'clock, I found about a hundred persons at table. Very little conversation took place, each individual seemed to hurry on as fast as possible, and the moment one finished he rose and went away. There was no change of plates, knives, or forks, every thing being eaten off the same plate, excepting pudding, which was taken in saucers. Brandy and gin were on the table, but, as Mr Stewart says, they drink very little during dinner, although whenever they pass the bar, they either sit down and smoke, or indulge in potation. 69 Indeed, drinking is carried to a great height both in Canada and in the State of Michigan. No sooner are they out of bed than they call for their bitters, and all day long they drink at brandy, gin, or whisky, taking, however, only a wine-glass at a time, which they mix in a tumbler with a little sugar and water. Just enough is taken at once to raise the spirits, and when the excitement subsides, the dose is repeated, so that in this way inebriation is avoided, although a great quantity is taken in the course of the day. Almost every person chews of smokes tobacco. At this hotel a number of well-dressed, and, to appearance, gentlemanly individuals, sat hour after hour without speaking a word. I never was addressed by one, although I sat in the midst of from twenty to thirty persons two nights from seven till ten. To me they seemed selfish, unsocial, and very ill-mannered, constantly spitting through their teeth all over the room, no matter where, lolling with their legs over the backs of chairs,

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and presenting a most disagreeable assemblage to one accustomed to the urbanity, order, and cleanliness of European society.

There is a theatre in Detroit, but no other place of public amusement. It is a very stirring town, however, and two large steamers generally come in to it every day from Buffalo, bringing an incredible number of passengers, travelling on business, or for pleasure.

September 10th. After breakfast, I crossed by the ferry steamer to Canada, and walked along the river to Sandwich, which is rather a pretty village, 70 although with little doing in it. Several large fields freed of stumps were seen. A number of Negroes have settled here, and are said to be doing well, being industrious and successful in their undertakings. Meeting one of them, who was advanced in years, I conversed with him, when he told me that he cultivated a piece of land belonging to himself, but that he intended to go over to the States, as most of the inhabitants of Sandwich had already done. On returning to Detroit, I went to a barber's to get my hair cut, and discovering by his speech that he was a Scotsman, entered into a conversation with him respecting the "Old Country," as the settlers designate Britain. He told me that he had resided in Goderich for a year, but that, there being little to do there, he had left it to come to Detroit about three months ago. About twenty families that he knew had also removed from it, and settled in Michigan, leaving little more than the same number in the village. A vast number of emigrants from Europe had passed through Detroit this season for the States of Michigan and Illinois. Finding that the schooner was ready to start as soon as the wind was favourable, I took my passage to Mackinaw, for which I paid eight dollars, including provisions, and slept on board.

About seven next morning we got under weigh, and sailed up the river—a Detroit merchant and myself being the only passengers. The vessel was of 150 tons burthen; her cabin very neatly fitted up, larger, and much finer than that of the Corsair. Having a fine breeze, we got up as far as the River 71 St Clair, at the mouth of which we stuck in the mud, in seven and a half feet of water, the vessel drawing nine. Here we remained fast

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until six o'clock next evening, and would not then have got off, had not the captain sent ashore and hired a small sloop, which came alongside and received part of the cargo, on which, drawing the schooner up to her anchor, they got her afloat.

On the 12th we made no progress, the wind being light and contrary; but on the 13th, having a favourable breeze, sailed up the river as far as the village of Newport, when, the wind coming a-head, we cast anchor. My fellow passenger having a gun, we went ashore, and shot eight pigeons. It was a beautiful evening, the smooth surface of the water reflected the objects on the banks, the woods had begun to assume their autumnal tints, the foliage of the white maple being entirely red; and the scene called forth my warmest admiration. On the 14th, there being no wind, I again went ashore with Mr Roberts, and saw vast flocks of "blackbirds," or red-shouldered orioles, which are about the size of a starling, and afford good eating. Six of them were killed at a shot.

On the 15th, the wind being favourable, though very light, we pursued our course, sailing slowly up the river, the scenery of which was very beautiful. Towards evening the steamer from Detroit came up to us, and at the request of the owners, took us in tow. When we had passed Fort Gratiot, and were near the commencement of the river, we were met by a schooner, which, coming in contact with us, produced such a concussion, that I thought we were sinking. Being in the stern at the time she struck our bows, I was in the act of leaping on board the steamer, when we recovered and proceeded. Our jib-boom was broken in two, and our fore-chains and bows considerably damaged. Leaving the steamer, we anchored for the night, regretting that we had met with her, as we attributed the encounter to our having been in her company. Our adversary having no lights up, we did not see her before it was too late. A part of the stern was found on board of us next morning.

After getting our chains repaired at the village at the mouth of the Black River, nearly a mile below the fort, we were towed by the steamer up the rapids, which are formed by the strong current from the lake, and run at the rate of from four to five miles per hour.

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On entering the lake we left the steamer, and having a slight breeze, sailed slowly on. Towards evening a canoe came up with two gentlemen, who asked to be taken on board for forty miles up the lake, and wanted some provisions. They took tea on board, and then returned, as our captain informed them, that if a breeze sprung up, we should be forty miles from land, and that they had better not trust to the continuance of the then light wind till the morning. They had been in the bush in search of a good locality, and we supposed that they were employed by a company. On the 18th we proceeded very slowly, at a considerable distance from land, having the Michigan territory only in sight; but on the 18th the breeze springing 73 up, we got over about ninety miles, passing Saguan Bay, which is about forty miles in breadth, and afterwards Thunder Islands. The breeze continued all night, and at eight next morning we found ourselves opposite Mackinaw, at the head of Lake Huron.

I was glad to leave the schooner, on board of which my ears had been constantly assailed with brutal profanity. Were I to take the crew of that vessel as a sample of American seamen, I should without hesitation pronounce them the greatest blasphemers in the world. In their ordinary conversation they almost invariably commenced each sentence with the words "by Jesus," and continually repeated the same oath, varying it to "by Christ," or "by Jesus Christ." There were twelve seamen on board, and from the captain to the cabin-boy, all seemed to strive who should employ these words most frequently. When an error was committed, or a slip made, by any of them, the common language used was, "God damn my soul to hell." The British seaman is certainly not free from profane oaths, but those which he uses are neither so bad nor so frequent as those forming a principal ingredient in the discourse of the crew of this schooner, the Benjamin Barton of Detroit. My fellow-passenger, a merchant of some note in Detroit, frequently made use of the same language as the seamen. They were constantly, spitting and squirting through their teeth, most of them chewing tobacco, which was rarely out of their mouth, and that only when they were eating, drinking, or smoking. D 74 When I reached Mackinaw, one of the sailors took me to three different taverns in search of lodging; but I was unsuccessful, and after

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in vain trying two or three other houses for boarding, I addressed a gentleman whom I observed standing at a door, and asked him if he knew where I could get lodging until I should procure a boat to carry me to the Sault St Marie. He said he thought I would have great difficulty in finding any place to sleep in, as the village was full of Indians and the Government officers, who were distributing presents and money to them for the cession of several millions of acres. After kindly offering me a share of his room, in which I might lie on the floor wrapt in my cloak, if I could find no better place, he accompanied me to a Mr Lasley's, the best boarding house in the village, and spoke in my behalf to the owner, who consented to take me in, but with only the floor and carpet for my bed. I had no cloak, however, having merely a change of linen and flannel in a canvas bag; but as the hour of rest approached, I was fortunate enough to secure a sofa through the mediation of a General Swartz, a German, who gave me a cloak as a covering. This gentleman was settled in Detroit, and had some arrangements to make regarding the treaty with the Indians. He was a most agreeable, gentlemanly person, full of anecdote and wit, quite a Frenchman in his manner, and the star of the company in the house, of which there was scarcely one besides himself who did not chew tobacco. When I first saw him, he was reading an account of the Hungarians, and on laying 75 down the book, talked to some gentlemen around him, mentioning the great hospitality shown to strangers by those people. On this I related an incident that occurred to me whilst in Vienna. My friend Ord and I had gone to Dan's Coffee-room in the Khol Markt, to see Galignani's Messenger, an English newspaper published in Paris. We were reading at a table by ourselves, when a gentleman came up and addressed me in English, politely asking if I would oblige him with the paper when I had finished my perusal of it. I instantly gave it to him, and we entered into a conversation, in the course of which I learned that he was a Hungarian, although he spoke English so well, that I had taken him for a countryman. On my telling him so, he was highly pleased, and as we were leaving the room soon after, he said he would have pleasure in calling on us next day, and fixing an hour, gave us his card. He accordingly called, and asked if he could be of any service to us while we remained in Vienna, where he would be for a few days. Recommending to us to make a journey through Hungary,

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where he assured us we should be hospitably treated, and incur very little additional expense, he very earnestly pressed us to accompany him to his seat there. As we had fixed a time for being in London, we could not accept his kind invitation, and the attention of Professor Mohs rendered it unnecessary for us to put him to any trouble. We saw him, however, every day while he remained in Vienna. This gentleman was the P. de H. The relation of this 76 incident warmed the heart of General Swartz, who was very attentive during my stay at Mackinaw.

As usual in the States, there was a great rush to breakfast, each individual striving to be before his, neighbour. This was occasioned by there being a larger company than the table could admit at once. It reminded me of the theatre, at which, when a star is to shine, a crowd generally assembles half an hour before the doors are opened, and when at length a passage is afforded, the people rush in like a river carrying every thing before it. It appears to be a custom in the State of Michigan for every person, whether engaged in business or not, to hurry forward to a meal, swallow it as fast as he can, and the moment he is satisfied, leave the table. As one goes out another comes in. At all the inns a charge of so much a day is made for board, whether you have meals there or elsewhere.

The country around is very sterile, the soil being scanty, and the under stratum limestone. To the east of it, however, the scenery is very romantic. There is an eminence called the Old Fort, where excavations had been made, but abandoned before they were completed, another place to the south having been preferred, where a fort commanding the small harbour has been built, Immediately opposite is the island of Bois Blanc, of considerable size, and about two miles distant. There is an extensive prospect down the lake, and up the Straits of Michillimackinac, leading to lake Michigan, with many beautiful islands. Mackinaw island is about nine 77 miles in circumference, and from three to four in breadth. On the east side, and at a very little distance from the beach, limestone rocks of considerable height project amongst the trees. Sometimes large crags present themselves, crowned with wood, and rendering this part of the island very romantic. Its

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northern part is low and marshy, with larger wood; but in general the trees are of small size, and consist of oak, birch, and maple.

I returned in time for dinner, to which, as usual, there was a rush. Some of the gentlemen made an apology for this, observing that I was a stranger, and waited for the last table, while their business was so pressing that they required to be expeditious. In the evening I took part in a conversation carried on by several gentlemen, one of whom rose and asked the rest to go to his lodging and take a glass of wine, so that I was left alone, until General Swartz, returning with the gentleman who had invited them, introduced him to me as a Mr Jackson from New York, and asked me to accompany them, which I did. After an hour's conversation, aided by some excellent champagne and Madeira, the latter of which he called Regency, we returned to the inn.

On the 21st, finding that the packet-boat had arrived from Sault St Marie, and would return next day, I took a long walk through the island, and examined the Fort, the walls of which are partly of wood and partly of stone. The two companies quartered in it were at drill. The men were generally little, and on looking along the ranks, two or three might be seen with their heads projecting a foot 78 above the rest. They seemed, however, to be very well disciplined. In the evening, as ten or twelve of us were sitting round the fire, Mr Jackson and a Mr Kingsburgh, one of the officers, commenced a conversation relative to the election of the new President of the States, the former contending that Mr Van Buren, the latter that Mr Webster, would be elected. This led to the discussion of the political career of these gentlemen, in the course of which the disputants became heated and began to employ harsh language, on which a Mr Hulbert, rising from his seat, asked them to drop the argument and take a glass of wine with him. This was agreed to, much to the satisfaction of the company, one of whom related an occurrence which he had witnessed on board a steamer, coming from Buffalo to Detroit. In the course of conversation, a gentleman had introduced the question of Slavery in the States, and advocated its abolition. Unfortunately for him he had few supporters, and was given to understand that he would be tossed overboard if he mentioned the subject again.

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From what I learned on this occasion, I concluded that in the United States the weaker party can scarcely venture to advocate their opinion openly, and that the stronger do not scruple to act towards their opponents in the most despotic manner. A gentleman related that an abolitionist in Buffalo, having advertised a course of lectures on slavery, a party assembled, took possession of his lecture-room, and waiting until he pronounced prayer, went up to him, carried him out, and covering him with tar and feathers, turned him 79 into the street. This, in fact, seems to be an ordinary procedure with the Americans. Very recently, a party of mechanics had assembled in New York, and slaughtered about twenty Irishmen, because they were content with lower wages than they themselves chose to accept. Yet, in Europe, America is represented to be the land of liberty.

Preparatory to such a treaty, the poor Indians are given to understand they are to get immense wealth in the shape of money and presents. This paves the way for a proposal to surrender their rights. They know by experience that they are the weaker party, and if they attempt to drive off the American squatters (persons who take possession of the land without any right) from the lands they have invaded, these squatters are supported by the American government, who detach parties of soldiers to hunt the poor Indian like a wild beast, so that he is glad to take what he can get for his country, knowing that it will otherwise be wrested from him by force. The presents distributed were a variety of implements of husbandry, cooking utensils, knives and forks, guns, powder and shot, shoes, clothing and blankets, and these in proportion to rank, besides annual payments for twenty years to each member of a family, similarly apportioned. Many of the Americans in this quarter had cohabited with Indian girls, by whom they had families, and they did not scruple to appear for the girl and her family to claim their proportions. I heard of some Americans getting on this account as much as 15,000 dollars. The Indians carried very little cash away 80 with them, many of the American traders having made up fictitious accounts against them for clothes and other articles, which were generally allowed by the government to be deducted from the money to be paid to the Indians. Only one case occurred here of an Indian dying from the effects of whisky. The principal storekeepers

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(many of whom came from a distance with goods to sell on the occasion) had resolved not to supply the Indians with spirituous liquors, but they found that the inferior dealers did so, and latterly the practice became general; so that what money was not spent on necessary articles was wasted on liquor. It was supposed that considerably above 160,000 dollars was left at Mackinaw by the Indians on this occasion.

On the 22d September, having purchased a blanket for two and a half dollars, with provisions for two days, I went on board the packet, which was a large open boat, with sails, and seven of a crew, six being rowers. The passengers were a Mr Schoolcraft, the proprietor of the boat, who, in company with Mr Hulbert, keeps a store at Sault St Marie; Mr Bingham, the Baptist Missionary there; a Mr Jacobs, of the same profession; a Mr Johnston, brother-in-law to Mr Schoolcraft; a lady, her daughter, and a woman with two children from Montreal, on her way to join her husband at the Point on Lake Superior. All had provided themselves with bedding and food. The day being very foggy, we steered by a pocket compass; and there being no wind, we were obliged to row, expecting to reach, in time for dinner, Goose Island, about nine miles to the north-east of Mackinaw. About one o'clock, however, we found ourselves at St Martin's Island, considerably to the west of our course, and scarcely six miles from where we started. Here we landed, and putting up in a canvas tent, dined very comfortably, the men having kindled a fire and boiled potatoes. Re-embarking, we continued rowing all night, the passengers sleeping in the bottom of the boat, which I would have found very hard, had not Mr Bingham and Mr Jacobs given me part of their bedding, which consisted of a thick reed mat laid underneath, and two or three thick green-coloured blankets. After all, I got very little sleep, being unable to stretch my legs.

About eight next morning we landed on an island where we had breakfast, in the midst of a deluge of rain. Continuing our voyage, we made very little progress, as the wind now blew strong a-head. We had passed the Detour about four in the morning, at which point the river St Mary's runs into Lake Huron from Lake Superior. Many islands occurred, and among them St Joseph's, belonging to the British government, on which are several

settlers, and Drummond's Island, belonging to Michigan State. We dined on a small islet, and proceeded the wind continuing unfavourable, until at length reaching an island called Sailor's Encampment, at the head of Mud Lake, we put up there for the night, erecting our tents. The river here separates into two channels, one called Ship Channel, the other Boat Channel, this latter being shallow and not navigable by ships.

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At two in the morning we started, although the wind was still a-head. Passing through Hay Lake, about five miles in length, we reached the Sault about nine o'clock, very wet, it having poured nearly all the way. About two miles below the Sault the two channels meet, and the river is there a mile and a half broad, the scenery very beautiful. The rapids are between the two villages of St Mary's, one on the American, the other on the Canadian side. After breakfast, the day clearing up, I walked along the river to the Lake St Mary's, about a mile above the village. On the other or American side the land was low and marshy, with very little clearing, and the trees stunted, although about a mile from the river the country rises a little, and the wood is of better growth. From four to five hundred of the Chippewa Indians were encamped round the village, of which the white population is limited to eight or ten families. The Americans have a fort, in which were stationed two companies of soldiers, under the command of Major Cobb, to whom Mr Schoolcraft introduced me. He is the government agent who transacts all business with the Indians, with whom, according to his own account, he is a great favourite, and who always give him the title of father. He showed me some symbols of amity which the Indian chiefs had presented to him, such as pipes decorated with beads, a war club, and a few other curiosities. I observed that the potatoes had suffered severely from the frost, and saw a field of oats very green, but a good crop. The inhabitants informed me that grain does not succeed round the 83 village; but this is not to be wondered at, as the climate is so cold that snow lies six months in the year, and the ground is quite flat; but I have little doubt that they could bring good crops to maturity were they to clear the higher lands. They admit that the Canadians on the other side succeed in raising excellent crops, because the land

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there is considerably above the level of the river; yet they do not follow their example in cultivating the higher grounds, and indeed turn their attention chiefly to fishing, white fish and trout being very numerous here and in Lake Superior. They catch them chiefly in the rapids, with a small circular hand net, and the Indians are very expert fishers.

On the 25th I spoke to my landlord to get me two men and a canoe to go up to Lake Superior, about ten miles up the river St Mary, but he was unable to engage any, all the best men being at Mackinaw, and those who remained preferring idleness to industry. Most of the inhabitants are half French half Indian, and are reported to be extremely indolent and addicted to drunkenness. On my expressing a wish to cross the river to the Canadian side, my landlord got a boat, and his men rowed me over, and accompanied me to Mr Nourse's house, about a mile farther up the river. We had to go through a marsh, where it was impossible to keep our feet dry, and accordingly my guide took off his shoes and stockings. I found Mr Nourse in his office. He is an elderly man, agent to the Hudson's Bay Company, who have a store here. He told me that he had tried to rear barley for three 84 successive years, but that only one crop ripened, the other two having been fit only for straw. The snow lies on the ground from the beginning of November to the middle of May, and as the cleared land is low, and close upon the river, which keeps it continually wet, it is evidently fit for nothing but pasture. All the lands on both sides belonged to the Indians until lately, when the American government made a purchase from them of the western side, as far as Lake Superior. The Canada side still belongs to the Chippewas, and above them are the Cherokees, a warlike race. The original settlers, the French, got permission from the Indian agent to settle, under the agreement that when government chose to purchase their lands from the Indians, they might obtain them at the price of waste land, thus giving them the benefit of their improvements. I asked Mr Nourse to get me a canoe and two men, and he directed me to a house where he thought I was likely to succeed. So I took my leave of him; and proceeding to the place, engaged a half-breed and his son to go across for me next morning at six o'clock, and take me to Gros Cape, about fifteen miles distant. I then returned to the village.

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On the 26th, the men not having made their appearance, I walked down the river, about ten o'clock, to an Indian Methodist mission, under the charge of a Mr Jacobs, who was one of the party in the packet-boat from Mackinaw, and who asked me to go and see him. I found him at home, and he introduced me to his wife, who, like himself, is an Indian. She could only speak her own language, 85 although he spoke English and French fluently. He was originally from the banks of the Credit River in Canada, and had become an American Methodist Missionary, for instructing the Indians, and educating their children. He gave me a gun, and we went out upon the river in a bark canoe, the first I had ever been in. This sort of vessel, which is made of the bark of birch, with the seams secured with rosin collected from the pines, is extremely light, and of course easily propelled, although the person who paddles must sit on his knees. Wild ducks were seen in great abundance among the islands opposite the missionary's house. I fired about a dozen shots, but killed only a single duck. This want of success I attributed to firing on my knees, and the unsteadiness of the canoe, which the slightest movement of the body made to swerve. I dined at Mr Jacobs', and ate part of a duck, which was excellent, its flavour being much superior to that of our mallard. Mr Jacobs accompanied me to the village, where I gave him some powder and shot in place of that which I had used, although it was with difficulty I prevailed on him to accept it.

The following day was spent in rambling among the woods, where I saw some pheasants, or grouse; and the day after produced no change in my prospects, although, on coming down stairs, I was surprised to find the ground covered with snow, and hardened by frost. My landlord, Mr Johnstone, gathered some of the snow, and pouring some whisky into it, presented me with it, that I might have to say I had drunk whisky punch made of snow on the 86 28th September. I remained in the house all day, reading the novel called Tales of the Crusaders, evidently plagiarized from Sir Walter Scott's. On the 29th, the ground was covered with snow about an inch and a half deep, and it continued showering the greater part of the day. In the afternoon, I called on Mr Bingham, the clergyman of the Baptist Mission, who gave me a kindly welcome, and showed me a large parcel of tracts, which

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he had got from his Missionary Board, for distribution. They were in different languages, and I selected one in Italian, and another in Spanish. On my telling him that I had been unable to go to Lake Superior, for want of hands, he sent for a young Indian, who had a canoe, and I struck a bargain with him to take me next day to Gros Cape, for two dollars and a half. On the 30th, before I had got out of bed, Mr Jones, who was staying with Mr Bingham, as an interpreter of the Indian language, called on me, to say that a Miss Rice, Miss Bingham, and himself, were desirous of visiting the lake, and would be glad to take the same opportunity with me. I at once assented, but after breakfast, Mr Bingham called and said that the Indian whom I had engaged could not get his brother to accompany him that day. So, as nothing better could be done, I staid in the house all day, reading Rollin's Ancient History, the only book I could get, excepting Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and West, one of the silliest performances I have ever seen, being chiefly composed of his own feats and boastings, and a profuse vituperation of General 87 Jackson, the President of the States, whose power he represents as absolute. In the evening I visited Mr Bingham, and found him engaged in examining his school, which he does once every quarter, giving rewards to those whose conduct has been exemplary. The scholars were half-breeds and Indians. He called in a little boy that I might hear him read. He was a half-breed, with the Indian features predominating, and, although he had been only a year and a half at school, read and parsed very well. Mr Bingham's son, a smart lad of sixteen, taught the school, which was formerly superintended by himself, Mr Bingham, who is a pious and most respectable person, having found it necessary to devote himself entirely to his ministerial duties.

In the course of conversation, he mentioned that the river is smaller in winter and spring than at any other time, and that it remains so even during the melting of the snow, especially if it be sudden, but that if the thaw is gradual it increases a little. I attempted to account for this phenomenon, by the following hypothesis. During winter a great quantity of snow falls, and remains on the ground six months, generally five or six feet deep. All this time, there are intense frosts, which contract the water by absorbing its caloric.

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This continuing for three months, when the sun has little influence, will cause a visible contraction of the river, which will consequently be lowest in spring. But after this, the sun gaining more strength, the water will gradually expand, and continue to enlarge until the river reaches its usual height. A sudden thaw will 88 expand the snow waters more than those of the river, which continue to have the same contraction as those of the lake, until the sun attains its greatest height. The snow water being expanded to a greater degree than the river water, and suddenly pouring into the river, does not mingle with the waters of the latter, but floats on the top, and is carried down with the current. The snow melting gradually and slowly, mixes with the river waters, which being acted upon by the general increased temperature, expand until the river reaches its greatest height.

At tea, Mr Bingham, his wife and family, sat at a long table in the centre, while around them, along the wall, sat the children of the school, about twenty-five, all apparently happy, each having received a book or other small present, as a token of their teacher's satisfaction with their conduct. A chapter in Proverbs was read, a hymn sung, and a prayer offered up, in which was introduced a petition for my safety, for which I afterwards thanked the missionary. Happening afterwards to allude to the Catholic religion, he spoke of the work published by Maria Monk, a nun who had escaped from the convent at Montreal, and who exposed the frightful system of dissoluteness carried on by the priests. Selecting a chapter of the book, he desired me to read it aloud, which I did. The author gives an account of several cells which she saw under ground, on her way to the cellar, to which she had alluded in a former chapter, and a large pit with quicklime into which she supposed the infants were thrown. Mr Bingham mentioned, that before Maria 89 Monk's publication came out, he had heard it stated in the family of a young lady who had been educated in a Catholic convent, that practices similar to those described were common. I said it appeared to me that if such crimes as those alleged by Maria Monk to have been perpetrated, had been reported to have taken place in Britain, our Government would have left no stone unturned in bringing the criminals to justice; that such a system could not have remained concealed for so many years; that the fact of the legal authorities taking no

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steps to punish the parties accused, was evidence that they discredited the statement; and more to the same purpose. Indeed, it appeared to me that Monk was the tool of a party who were instrumental in burning the convent at Charleston; but I averred that the British executive had the means of enforcing justice without the aid of the mob; and that the abettors of the Lynch law system would find themselves treated as criminals, were they to attempt such a course in any spot of land under British rule. I left Mr Bingham's about eight o'clock, not before he had kindly pressed me to stay with him so long as I remained at the Sault.

About a week before I arrived at this place, a person calling himself General Dickson had set out with a party of about twelve or fourteen men, in order to conquer California. Major Cobb, with whom he had frequently dined, gave me an account of his plan, which was to engage some of the most warlike tribes of the Indians. He assured the Major that he had been corresponding with some of 90 their leaders, who only waited his arrival to bring to his aid from two to three thousand men, who would drive out the Spaniards, and, taking possession of the country, constitute it a free state with an elective government and presidency. He himself was to be chief in the first instance, and he intended to banish every white man from the state. But he was sadly deficient in the mainspring of war, being without money, and having left the Sault in debt. He had recently come from Fredericksburgh, in Virginia, where he had charge of a gold mine which had not succeeded. He had been in Mexico many years ago, and when travelling there had been attacked by a party of Mexicans, who, after he and his companions had shot three or four of them, overpowered him, massacred his friend, and left himself for dead. Recovering his senses, however, he managed to reach a hut, where he recovered of his wounds. The Mexican government gave themselves no concern about the matter, and he bore them no goodwill. He had the marks of nineteen wounds on his body, which he had shown to two or three of his friends at the Sault, where he staid nearly a fortnight; and carried with him a complete suit of mail, in which he was fond of exhibiting himself. The party left the place in two canoes.

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On the 1st October, at nine in the morning, I at length left Sault St Marie, in a large canoe, in company with Mr Jones, Miss Rice, Miss Bingham, and her brother, having an Indian, two half-breeds, and an old soldier, to row us up to Gros Cape. We passed up what is called the canal, but 91 which is merely a water-course for driving a saw-mill, which is situated at the upper end of the village. This water-course runs from St Mary's Lake, which we very soon entered. Proceeding up, we passed Pine Point, on which are a few trees. The soil is sandy; but several beautiful necks of land jutting out into the river, give some diversity to the landscape, which would otherwise be tame and monotonous. About eight miles on, we came in sight of an island in Lake Superior, and afterwards passed a smaller one on the Canada side, about four miles from the Cape. Here we saw another point stretching into the Lake, and immediately behind it found the Cape itself, which is a bold promontory, rising to a height of several hundred feet. Landing in a small bay behind the Cape, where were several Indian wigwams, we proceeded to the neck of land, which is of considerable height. Several islands were seen on the Lake, one, lying northward, of great size. The Cape, which is on the Canada side, is composed of felspar rock and granite, and rises abruptly from the water. It took us about twenty minutes to ascend to the summit, the sides being covered with debris, which gave way under the feet. After remaining some time gazing on the vast expanse of water, and the extensive woods on the American side, we descended, and, as it began to rain, dispatched our dinner as quickly as possible. The Indians were occupied in fishing, and we saw a number of white-fish spread out on bark ropes. Re-embarking, we proceeded homewards, and arrived at Sault St Marie at nine 92 o'clock. The rain poured incessantly the whole way, and the ladies were very silent. I paid two dollars and a half as my share of the expense; the distance fifteen miles.

Next day it rained from morning till night. On the 3d, I rose at seven, expecting the packet-boat to start at eight for Mackinaw, took my place at Mr Hulbert's store in the garrison, and called at Mr Bingham's to ask for the ladies, and bid them farewell. Mr Bingham presented me with another Spanish tract, and I gave him a dollar to buy something for the children of his school at their next examination. He went to the boat with me, as did the surgeon

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of the fort, Mr Porta, whom I found a pleasant and intelligent gentleman. The passengers in the boat were a Mr George Johnstone, and his two sons, going to St Joseph's Island, a Mr Deer, his wife, and four children. I brought provisions enough to last until we should reach Mackinaw, which we expected to do next day, as we had a strong breeze. It was twelve before we started. About nine miles down the river we landed on an island, and dined, the boatmen kindling a fire. The sail was exceedingly pleasant, the scenery being picturesque, and the weather fine, although extremely cold. Mr Johnstone, in the course of conversation, gave us an account of the manner in which he had lost one of his thumbs. He had been out shooting, and having fired off his gun, it burst and shattered his thumb to such a degree as to leave it hanging by the skin and tendons. There being no surgeon at hand, he put himself under the direction of an Indian, but his arm some days after showing symptoms of mortification, he got himself removed to Sault St Marie, where the surgeon of the fort recommended amputation, to which he would not consent. The Indian, having followed him gave him hopes that he could cure him, and he again put himself under his charge. He was then taken prisoner by the Americans, with whom the British were at war, and confined in a dungeon, whence he made his escape; and meeting once more with the Indian, followed his directions, and was ultimately cured. In the evening, we encamped on St Joseph's Island, about twenty-seven miles down the river. Mr Deer related several anecdotes of the Indians, among whom he had lived nineteen years, in the capacity of manager at one of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments on the Columbia River. He had been travelling for nine months on his way to the Sault, with his family, and mentioned that on one occasion provisions failed in the way between two of the Company's stations, so that they had nothing to eat for two days but a parcel of moccasins, which they roasted. His three children became so emaciated and feeble, that he despaired of their surviving; the cold was extreme; and it was wonderful how their mother bore her sufferings without a complaint. They arrived at a fort, scarcely able to crawl, and remained several days before they recovered strength to pursue their journey. Notwithstanding their previous hardships, they all looked remarkably healthy. He was an

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agreeable and well-informed man, and was on his way to Upper 94 Canada, on Lake Erie, where he had purchased a farm.

He had enjoyed ample opportunity of observing the customs and manners of the Indians. They have in general no fixed religion. A tribe called the Chenooks perform a religious rite once a-year, at which they sacrifice a human victim. If they had not a prisoner, they took one of their slaves, and each ate a piece. But with this exception they do not eat human flesh. Other tribes have no idea of a Supreme Being. The young people were generally sent up to a mountainous country, where they remained until a spirit appeared to them. When this happened they were to return to their parents, and give them an account of what had passed between themselves and the spirits. According as their imagination pictured the spirit, it appeared to them in the shape of a dog, a bird, or a stone; and ever after they held the animal or stone so represented in reverence, and imagined themselves to be under its protection. Sometimes they fancy the spirit to reside in their sword or shield, and they then deem themselves invincible.

Mr Deer's wife was an Indian, one of the Flat-heads, respecting which so much has been said of late years. Her forehead, although evidently depressed, was not so in a very remarkable degree, and her husband assured me that many others of the tribe were as little deformed. The manner in which the flattening is produced is this—the child is laced to a board; there is another board over the head, sufficiently long to protect the face, in the event of its falling; and at the top of this upper board, a small piece is made to project so as to press upon the forehead. This part is gradually enlarged as the child grows, and the pressure is continued for several years. Mr Deer mentioned that an Indian had come to him and claimed kindred with him, relating the following circumstances. He said he was the grandchild of a white man, who had been shipwrecked in the Columbia river thirty years ago, and his statement was corroborated by those of several Indians. His grandfather was one of two who had escaped. They belonged to a Spanish coaster bound for California, whose crew had mutinied, and killed the captain and mate; but finding themselves entirely ignorant of their situation, and unable to manage the vessel, they

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allowed her to drive before the wind, and she at length struck on a sand-bank, when, in endeavouring to swim ashore, they all perished except two, who made the land, and crawled into the woods. A party of Indians finding them in a state of exhaustion, prevailed on them by signs to follow, and conducted them to their wigwams. After remaining with them a few months they married, and were adopted into the tribe, over which they gained an ascendancy. They were much amused with the simplicity of their entertainers, and especially with their notions of the vessel. An old woman, who was the first to observe it, took it for a whale, with a tree growing on its back, and ran home to acquaint her friends, who got themselves in readiness to attack it. Others joining, they 96 paddled out their canoes, keeping at first at some distance, and rowing round and round. At length they ventured to approach, and mustering courage, as it appeared to be disabled or asleep, made up to it. Their astonishment may be conceived when, on going on board, they found it to be a huge canoe laden with iron, part of which they carried off, and which they believed to have been sent to them by the Great Spirit. When the Spaniards had acquired sufficient knowledge of their language, they informed them that they had come in the vessel, but this they would not believe. Two years afterwards another vessel came to anchor off the coast, when they all sallied out, taking it for another present from the Great Spirit. As they approached, they saw the sailors running up the rigging, and concluding that they were bears, kept at a distance watching their motions. At length, conceiving it possible that they might be men, especially as they beckoned to them, they advanced, went on board, and proceeded to appropriate to themselves whatever came to hand, until prevented by the captain, who gave them to understand that he would not permit them. The vessel had run short of water, and some of the crew went ashore with the Indians, who showed them where they could have a supply. Next day, when the Indians were returning, they fired a salute, which so terrified their visitors, that they fled in dismay, thinking the Great Spirit was casting thunder and lightning at them. After waiting a considerable time they ventured to approach the vessel, and were 97 shown what had caused their alarm. When a gun was fired, they all threw themselves on their faces, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to rise again.

In the neighbourhood of the Red River, the grisly bears are very numerous. The chief of a tribe of Indians was returning home from a general council, and had lingered behind his men. When not very far from his hut, he met a bear and two cubs, and knowing the ferocious nature of the animals, was considerably alarmed. They were so close, however, that he could not escape, and having no alternative, he attacked them, thinking that if he should be so fortunate as to shoot the mother, he might succeed in killing the cubs with the butt-end of his gun. He therefore took aim, but the gun missed fire, although he had put in a new flint that morning, and before he could cock again, the bear rushed upon him, and struck him such a blow with one of her paws as to throw him to a distance of several yards. She then ran up, and seizing his head in her mouth, stood still. He had the presence of mind to grasp her throat, and with a sudden wrench rescued his head from her jaws; but while he was striving to choke her, one of the cubs struck down his arm, when fortunately he remembered that he had stuck a knife into his girdle behind. This he drew with the quickness of thought, but while in the act of striking the bear with it, the same cub caught his hand in its mouth, and held it fast. He seized the knife, however, with his left hand, and wounded the old bear in several places, until becoming exasperated, she struck him down senseless. E 98 When he recovered from his swoon, he found himself alone, with his bowels partly protruding, and both his temples lacerated. He bound in his intestines with his belt, and after staying the bleeding of his many wounds, raised himself with difficulty, cocked his gun, and began to move slowly away. But he had not proceeded ten steps, when the bears, which had been watching him all the time, sprung upon him. His gun snapped once more, and he was entirely at their mercy. The mother knocked him down with her paw, and seizing him, dragged him along, when, from loss of blood and the concussion of the last blow, he fainted. On regaining his sensibility, he bound up his wounds, and believing himself injured beyond recovery, became inspired by revenge, and resolved to die in the attempt to destroy some of his savage foes. With great difficulty he got on his feet, cleaned the flint of his gun, drew his knife, and looking around, stood resolved to conquer or perish. The bears rushed upon him. Unable to take aim, he dropped on one knee, and supported his gun on the other, when the old

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bear seizing the muzzle in her mouth, he drew the trigger, and shot her dead. The cubs, however, remained, and they were scarcely less dangerous, as very little strength now remained in him. However, he succeeded, after inflicting several wounds, in driving them off, and sunk down, despairing of ever rising again. But having lain for some time, he found himself slightly refreshed, and succeeded in crawling to his hut, where he related what had befallen him, and bidding farewell to his family, laid himself down to die. His friends 99 went out in search of the bears, and found the mother dead, and the grass all round clotted with blood. The cubs were traced, and having been severely wounded, were easily destroyed. The mangled Indian having enjoyed a sound sleep for several hours, awoke greatly refreshed, and having been persuaded to allow his wounds to be bound, ultimately recovered. So improbable did this story appear to the gentleman who related it to me, that he would not believe it until the Indian showed him the marks of the wounds which he had received, and until it was confirmed by his neighbours. Another gentleman told me that he also had seen the Indian, and examined the marks of the bear's teeth on his head.

While I remained at Sault St Marie, I frequently saw Indians of both sexes come into the tavern, and give clothes and other things for whisky, of which they were exceedingly fond. Regardless of the future, they are content with enjoying the present. When hungry they go to the woods, kill a deer, take home as much of it as will make a meal, and leave the rest.

The weather being extremely cold, we enjoyed the blazing fire kindled in our encampment. The boatmen, wrapping themselves in their blankets, lay down about five yards from it, and slept there till morning. We, on the other hand, betook ourselves to our tent, where we slept on a sailcloth, but were nearly benumbed with cold. By day-break we embarked, and sailed about ten miles along St Joseph's Island, until we came near Major Rane's house, 100 when we put out Mr Johnston. The Major, a well-looking man, with bushy mustachios, stood on the shore waiting. The island was bought by him and some others from the British Government, at a shilling an acre. He had got several settlers to join him, but the soil was found to be unfertile, and the island is now nearly deserted. This gentleman,

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having left his wife in England, lives here with two squaws, who are sisters, and have both born children to him.

At ten o'clock we landed again, and had breakfast. Nothing of much interest occurred during the day, and in the evening we encamped as we had done the night before. Mr Deer made me a present of a pair of moccasins, and, my provisions having run short, offered me a share of his supper, at which he produced a dried buffalo tongue, which proved delicious. Leaving our encampment at seven next morning, we reached Mackinaw about eleven. I returned to Lasley's boarding-house, which I found much less crowded than before, the treaty gentlemen having left. Here I was obliged to wait four days for a vessel to take me to Chicago.

On Sunday the 9th October, at four in the evening, I left Mackinaw, in the schooner Citizen, in company with three gentlemen, who had come up from Chicago, to spend a day or two, but had been detained ten. On entering the straits of Michimillimackinac, we found the scenery highly picturesque, the western coast of the island of Mackinaw being very abrupt, and the limestone rock projecting here and there from among the wood that covers and 101 overhangs the precipices and slopes. The wind fell, and our progress was but slow during the night. In the morning it was ahead, and we were obliged to cast anchor in an extensive harbour to the south of the Maniton Island. As we had little on board for dinner but fat pork and potatoes, we got the captain to send us ashore, and ordering dinner at the log-hut of the only resident on the island, whose name was Coleman, walked about until it was ready. Coleman told us that, a few days before our arrival, there had been a severe gale which lasted several days, and that a steamer called the New York, on its route from Chicago to Buffalo, had run out of wood, and had been so much damaged during the gale as to oblige her captain to run her ashore, where he prevailed upon the most of his passengers to assist his crew in cutting down wood to supply the vessel; they had been detained for several days, and he paid each passenger three or four dollars per diem for chopping and cording the wood. The island is very fertile, especially in its central parts, in which there is a lake about half a mile in length. There were several

maple groves, as well as great numbers of large beeches, pines, and iron-wood trees. It is about nine miles in circumference, and contains about 15,000 acres of arable land. The beach is sandy and gravelly, and there is deep water close to the shore. Coleman had squatted with the intention of purchasing from government, and in the meantime had built a log-house, and had with him a man and his wife, to assist in cutting wood to supply the steamers. He had been there only three months, 102 and had engaged two other families to join him in winter. Intending to keep a tavern, he was laying in a large store of provisions, and was building another house. We had fried salt beef, pickles, pancakes, and other articles, to dinner, for which we paid three shillings each. Next day, the wind being still contrary, the vessel lay at anchor, and we spent the day in walking about the island. On the 12th, the wind came about to south-west, about ten in the morning, and we proceeded on our course down Lake Michigan. Toward night, however, we were becalmed, and all next day, there being very little wind, we scarcely advanced at the rate of half a mile an hour. The day following was not more favourable, and it was not until the afternoon of the 15th that a breeze sprung up, which carried us to Chicago, where we anchored about midnight.

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CHAPTER V. EXCURSION TO THE WESTERN STATES.

Chicago.—Country on the route to Joliet.—Land Speculators injurious to Emigrants.—Ottawa.—Scenery on the Illinois.—Peoria.—The Mississippi.—Mouth of the Missouri.—St Louis.—Scenery on the Mississippi.—Difficulties of its Navigation.—Mouth of the Ohio River.—Louisville.—Peculiarities and inquisitiveness of Americans.—Scenery of the Ohio.—Prevalency of Fogs there.—Wooding for the Steamer.—Grossness of American Morals exemplified—Advantages of a Trade.—Expediency of Practical Mechanical Institutions discussed.—Cincinnati.—Wheeling.—Fatigues endured in Steamer.—Wellsville. Its Scenery.—Pedestrian Tour.—New Lisbon.—Farms and Houses in the State of Ohio.—

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American Hospitality contrasted with that of other Countries.—Ashtonburgh.—Ashtabula.—Erie.—Buffalo.—Canadian Inhospitality.—Chippewa.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 16th October, I landed at Chicago, and hastened to the United States Hotel, at the south-west end of the town, where I put up, delighted to find myself again on *terra firma*. Finding that a stage-coach started at nine o'clock, I secured a seat to Peoria, for which I paid twelve dollars. At breakfast there was a 104 very large party, who occupied two tables, and exhibited the usual American celerity in eating and drinking. No change of knife, or fork, or plate; no spoon for the sugar-basin; no ceremony whatever observed; every man for himself, and none for his neighbour; hurrying, snatching, gulping, like famished wild cats; victuals disappearing as if by magic. Chicago is rather pleasantly situated, being elevated a little from the lake; the streets are wide, and the houses all wooden, excepting two large stores, which are of brick. Four years ago it did not contain more than a hundred inhabitants, and now it boasts of nearly five thousand. This rapid increase it owes to its favourable position at the head of Lake Michigan, which renders it the port for all sorts of goods to and from New York. Indeed, so favourably is it looked upon by the Americans in general, that many persons from various parts of the States have purchased town lots, and built large frame stores. A great business was carried on last summer, in consequence of its being the point to which the emigrants from Britain and other countries resort previous to their proceeding to their several locations. I heard of a gentleman from Edinburgh having realized upwards of 200,000 dollars by speculating on town lots here, and several Americans had made almost incredible sums in the same speculation. A canal intended to communicate between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river, where it becomes navigable, over a space of nearly a hundred miles, was just commenced. Several hundred workmen, chiefly Irish, were employed at it, 105 and had twenty-five dollars per month; provisions were very high, a barrel of flour then selling at thirteen dollars. A railway is contemplated between Chicago and Detroit.

The vehicle in which I left Chicago was a four-horse stage, similar to those used in Canada, and carried six within and four outside. It started at nine o'clock, and proceeded

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over a prairie, nine miles in length, very flat, and apparently having a rich soil of vegetable mould. At the end of this prairie, which stretches south-westward from Chicago, we came to what is called a grove, being a plantation two or three miles in extent, all of hardwood, principally oak. The road was good, the weather having been dry for eight or ten days previous. Having changed horses, we proceeded, passing alternately through prairies and groves, and following the course of the River Plaines, a small stream having a course of about a hundred miles, and joining the Illinois. Very few cultivated farms occurred in our route, although most of the lands had been purchased. Unfortunately, there have been hordes of land speculators, who contrive to buy the lands for several miles from the public roads and towns, although the government have tried to prevent a trade so injurious to a new country. These persons get possession of all the best lands, and keep them until they get their own prices. They purchase from government at a dollar and a quarter per acre, and do not sell anywhere within two or three miles of a public road at less than twenty dollars, and even demand thirty when the soil is 106 very rich; while for town lots, which they lay out in any eligible site, they ask enormous prices. To such an extent is this system carried on, that companies of speculators are formed, who expose lands at auction, and raise the price by bidding against each other, until strangers are induced to offer, and if the latter should bid a certain price, they allow them to purchase, but otherwise they buy the land themselves. This practice prevents the improvement of the lands, as well as settlements, because the wealthiest emigrants alone can bid against these speculators. By way of trying to prevent it, the government have resolved not to sell more than three hundred acres to non-residents, unless they pay in specie; but this has only tended to raise its value, so that the speculators were offering five or six per cent. for gold or silver. An effectual remedy would be to require residence on the farm for a certain period, and a certain extent of clearing within that time. By the way we passed two or three fine farms, and saw several large fields of Indian corn, which seemed good. The road continued tolerable, and our rate of travelling was about six miles an hour.

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At the distance of twenty miles from Chicago, the prairies became "rolling" or undulated, and the lands were high. The country continued thus as far as Joliet, twenty-five miles farther on, and situated on the river Plaines. We reached the village about six o'clock, having stopped about two hours for dinner, and had several delays. The lands around this place, which is in a most romantic situation, 107 and rapidly advancing, bring from forty to fifty dollars an acre; and the town lots so much as from five to six hundred. We stopped there for the night. After supper I was put into a room, in which were four beds, one of which I obtained to myself, although each of the rest was occupied by two persons. In the adjoining room there were also four beds, and two persons in each. The ordinary conveniences of a bed-room, such as water, towels, and a mirror, had not been thought of, and although my bed was good, it wanted curtains, and stood close to a window having a broken pane, to prevent in some measure the ingress of the keen air by which, I had to thrust my hat into it.

At five o'clock we were roused from our slumbers by the landlord, who brought us a candle, and after dressing, went down to the bar-room, where were a tin basin with water, a large towel, and a comb, for general use. There was no soap, however, and our shoes had not been cleaned. This was the principal inn, and an American gentleman, with whom I conversed, gave me to understand that the arrangements were pretty similar in almost all the new States. We started at six A. M. in a waggon drawn by four horses, and proceeded for sixteen miles through prairies and groves, the former varying from three to six miles in length. About nine o'clock we breakfasted at a farm-house, to which the name of Dresden had been given, and then proceeded along the river, having high banks on each side, with a low space, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, 108 between the bank on each side and the stream. The projected canal spoken of above is to pass along this plain. Large flocks of prairie hens, a species of grouse, similar to the Canadian, occurred here and there, and we saw quails, ducks, and geese in abundance.

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About three in the afternoon, we crossed Fox River, near its junction with the Illinois, and soon after arrived at a small town called Ottawa, beautifully situated on the latter, upon an eminence, surrounded by extensive prairies, and having a fine prospect, including some high lands on the opposite side, where a village is in progress. There are several large stores in this town, which appears to be rapidly increasing. Our course now lay along the Illinois, the scenery of which is extremely beautiful, indeed superior to any of the kind which I had seen. The rocks rise abruptly from the valley of the river, at the distance of a quarter of a mile on either side; some protruded here and there from the bed of the stream; the slopes were covered with wood, the foliage of which exhibited the most glowing tints of red and yellow; and the shrubs and herbage of the lower ground presented forms as beautiful as they were new to me. I have little doubt, that when the scenery of Ottawa is properly known and appreciated, it will be visited by crowds. About a mile below it, a town has been planned, which is to be named Gibraltar, on account of the abrupt rocks which rise in its vicinity. The grass on the flat land attains a height of six, or even 109 sometimes nine feet, and in the waggon we were in a manner completely overtopped by it over a space of nearly three miles.

About fifteen miles below Ottawa, we reached a farm house and store called Peru, to which the steamer from Peoria comes; but we found no other place to go to than the store, which belongs to the stage proprietors; and there we had to wait from seven until ten o'clock, before the boat arrived. One of the farmers, it was said, intended keeping a tavern, which in all probability will succeed. Supper and bed were included in our fare of twelve dollars, but they contrived to cheat us of supper as well as breakfast, by landing us at Peoria about six in the morning. There were upwards of forty cabin passengers in a small steamer, which could not well accommodate above half that number. I was fortunate enough to secure a berth through the kind offices of Dr Clarke, a fellow traveller from Joliet, who hurried me on board in spite of the general rush, and succeeded in securing the book in which the passengers' names were inserted, before all the berths were taken. Looking out of my berth at the number lying on the floor, I thought of harvest

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at home, when the men employed to cut the grain are generally furnished by the farmer with blankets for a covering, and straw to lie upon in the barn, where, after the fatigue of a long harvest day, they enjoy a repose often denied to those who rest on down. As soon as daylight appeared, every one was up and dressed, 110 apparently equally refreshed with those who occupied berths. Few washed themselves, and I observed no convenience for the purpose. I saw several catching in their hands the water thrown up by the paddles, washing their faces, and using their handkerchiefs to dry them.

October 18th. Getting out of the steamer, along with Dr Clarke, I walked up to the principal inn, which was kept by an Irishman, and having breakfasted there, took a stroll through the town, which is small, but rapidly increasing. The main street, running up from the river, is spacious, but is not yet finished. Peoria is situated on rising ground, at a considerable height above the river, which expands here so much as to form a small lake, and is deep enough to admit the steamers from the Mississippi. Vast flocks of wild geese and ducks, many within shot, floated on the water. There were three ladies at the inn, who sat in a large room off the bar. The gentlemen scarcely ever deigned to speak to them, and, indeed, I remarked that the Americans, notwithstanding their boasted gallantry, pay little attention to their ladies. When dinner is on the table, the females are always informed by the servants, and take their seats by themselves before the bell is rung, so that they may be out of the crowd.

I remained all day at this place, as no steamer arrived. There is a considerable speculation here, as well as in many other parts of the State of Illinois. Dr Clarke, who was from Lake Champlain, in the State of New York, had travelled here to 111 speculate, and had bought several farms and town lots. I had only three sovereigns and three dollars left, and he asked me as a favour to let him have the former for silver, as he wished to get as much gold as possible, to purchase more land from government. The hotel, although very large, was crowded to excess, so that there was scarcely a vacant spot in it. Clarke and I slept in one bed; and in the room adjoining ours were five beds, in some of which were three persons, while several occupied the floor. At night he took his pocket-book, and wrapping

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it in a handkerchief, tied it to his thigh, from which it could not be taken without wakening him. He said that most people carry their money in a belt round the waist, but that several instances of its being extracted during sleep had occurred, and he considered his mode more secure.

The office for selling land is open during certain months only, and the speculators previously choose some good locality. When the lands are put up to auction, should two or more individuals have selected the same spot, they bid against each other, so that instead of a dollar and a quarter, which is the standard price, government often obtains eight or ten per acre, when the situation of the land is very eligible. Emigrants are thus not only constrained to wait until the office for sale is opened, but run the risk of encountering competition, so that they may ultimately have to pay forty shillings an acre for their land. No doubt, they can always find plenty of land for sale in the hands of speculators and others, but of course at their own price. Scarcely any was to be bought in the line of the projected canal under fifteen dollars an acre, and some in the vicinity of an intended town or village was as high as thirty dollars. Sometimes, especially in the large prairies, it is impossible to get wood on a purchase of five or six hundred acres, in which case the land must be fenced with turf dikes, which is laborious. The ploughing is often very tedious and expensive, the vegetable mould being so adhesive as to resist the efforts sometimes of four oxen to turn it over. There are many drawbacks in prairie lands which an experienced woodsman cannot foresee, far less an European emigrant.

Dr Clarke, who gave me this information, was travelling with a son of one of the late governors of New York, who had been seized with fever and ague, which are very prevalent, especially among persons addicted to drinking, who unfortunately are very numerous. All the passengers in the boat had small bottles of brandy or whisky; but although they frequently applied to them, very few were to be seen affected by liquor. The exhalations from marshy ground, together with the miasmata arising from the

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decomposition of vegetable matter, so abundant in new countries, are supposed to give rise to this complaint.

My money having run short, I determined to take a deck passage to St Louis by the Wyoming steamer, which arrived at Peoria under night. Dr Clarke and I purchased some bread and cheese, and went on board at nine in the morning, soon after which the steamer commenced her voyage. The bed of the Illinois river is narrow and muddy, its water a little discoloured, and the current rather slow. The weather was very cold, and the wind high. The scenery, however, was very beautiful, the high banks being adorned with forests of numerous species of trees in their autumnal livery, while the waters were covered with ducks and geese newly arrived from the northern regions, in which they had passed the summer. Neither Clarke nor I had any sleep the whole time we were on board; the weather was very cold, and every one crowded round the fire; we could scarcely get sight of it, and either to lie or sit down was impossible, owing to the numbers congregated. There were several parties of Irish who had been at work on the projected canal, and who having made a little money had become insolent, the usual practice of the lower class of their countrymen when they come to the United States, and get a few dollars into their pockets; they were very well dressed, and were on their way to New Orleans, where they supposed they would get better wages. They seemed to be shunned by the Americans, who generally dislike them. We arrived at the mouth of the river at nine o'clock next morning, and entered the Mississippi, the waters of which are of a dark hue. An hour more brought us to the mouth of the Missouri, which is of a very yellow colour, its water being impregnated with the clayey soil of the country through which it passes. So large a body of water does it pour into the Mississippi, that this yellow colour continues as far as New Orleans. It is a rapid river, and when in flood does much mischief. At its mouth 114 are seen great numbers of trees stuck in the mud, called "snags" by the Americans.

The scenery of the Mississippi above its junction with the Missouri is magnificent. Its eastern banks are rocky, and here and there crags of limestone protrude from among the trees, so diversified in form as to give the appearance of ruinous towns. The trees

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are chiefly hardwood. The crimson, yellow, and brown hues of their foliage contrasted beautifully with the dark-green of the cedars and the white colour of the cliffs. Many islands, some of them beautifully wooded, also occurred. The same kind of scenery, a little varied, continued as far as St Louis, which we reached about twelve o'clock. This town presents a very bustling appearance. Twelve large double-decked steamers were lying close to the shore, the water permitting them to get so near as to throw out a plank and land the passengers. All the boats from New Orleans call here, as well as those coming down from the Ohio and Missouri. The principal street is about a mile in length, and the shops are good. Several fine villas were seen in the neighbourhood. Many Dutch and French families are settled on the lands around.

Learning that a steamer was to start next day for Pittsburgh, I resolved on going with her, but found that I had only fifteen dollars left, and the cabin fare being twenty, I was compelled to take a deck passage. I should have done so from choice for part of the way, in order to see a little of the habits of those who travel in this manner; but certainly would not have willingly gone such a distance as twelve 115 hundred miles, and encountered the hardships to which one must submit in travelling in this manner. We left St Louis about twelve o'clock A.M., on the 20th October, in the Cuba, an old boat with three boilers and two decks. The lower deck was entirely exposed, there being no partition between it and the machinery, which alone prevented one from seeing one end of the boat from the other. Close to the stern were four or five berths, divided and partitioned off, for the accommodation of those employed in the boat; and near the partition was a stove, the only fire-place for the use of the deck passengers, who were obliged to sleep on the floor, with such covering as they might have provided themselves with. There were a great many, and consequently they could not all get to the fire at once. The floor was very dirty, not having been swept for several days, and the stove, which had a square wooden box round it, was full of ashes, mud, and filth of various kinds, as if it had not been cleaned out for a fortnight.

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Having paid eight dollars for a passage to Wellsville, I laid out three more on bread, cheese, and apples, which lasted me until I reached Louisville in Kentucky. The scenery on the Mississippi is beautiful and diversified. The river has many windings, and one of the banks rises to a considerable height, exhibiting the bare limestone rock at many points, while the opposite side is flat and uninteresting. The muddy appearance of the river detracts much from its beauty; but the vast mass of its waters, the abrupt banks indicative of its occasional devastations, the magnificent forests along its shores, and the consideration of its being the recipient of the drainage of almost half a continent, and the medium of communication between so many regions, render it an object of contemplation such as the wanderer seldom meets with. We passed several steamers coming up from New Orleans all crowded with passengers. The navigation on this river, as well as its tributaries, is carried on chiefly by steam, but rafts and scows are also occasionally seen. We reached the mouth of the Ohio, two hundred miles distant from St Louis, about two o'clock next day. In the course of our voyage I observed that though several of the passengers were talking together, yet when strangers to each other they were shy in forming acquaintance, until after some hours of scrutiny, when, if they judged favourably, they entered into conversation. The first questions generally were, "Where have you come from? Where going? What is your business?" and so forth. This, in fact, is a very natural procedure in a country where every one is anxious to obtain as much information as he can, that he may be guided by what he hears. For my own part, finding matters so, I seldom hesitated to answer or to propose questions. This day, however, I was not addressed by any other than one of the passengers who was going to Cincinnati, and had been in the boat that carried me down the Illinois River. He had gone to the State of that name, and remained there three years, but was returning with his wife, not having found sufficient employment in his trade as a shoemaker, and having had his health injured by the climate, which was too cold for him. He seemed rather dissipated; but in this he was not peculiar, for all the passengers appeared to be provided with spirits, of which they drank a little now and then. Much card playing and gambling was going on.

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The scenery of the Ohio is extremely beautiful. For twelve hundred miles from its mouth, up to Wellsville, it presents a succession of views so varied, that probably few tracts in the world of equal extent can in this respect compete with it. The river winds so much, however, that in general one does not see more than half a mile of it at a time. This meandering frequently causes the hills to assume the appearance of an amphitheatre, of which the ridge is so beautifully indented, as to excite the greatest admiration.

We reached Louisville, in Kentucky, in four days, the distance being four hundred miles, but would have got there much sooner had we not been obliged to remain stationary a whole night by the fog, which sometimes continues for days, especially during what is called the Indian Summer, which is warm and genial, and frequently lasts a fortnight or more in October or November. Louisville is a larger and finer town than St Louis. The principal street is wide, and of considerable length; the buildings are generally regular; and I observed a very handsome new bank, of Doric architecture, with fluted columns. We remained here for a day, and my store of provisions being exhausted, I purchased a coffee-pot, some ham, Indian flour, and a sack, 118 from one of the passengers, for which I paid five shillings, or "bits," as they are called in Illinois, St Louis, and most of the western States; the six-penny pieces being called picayuns. Some coffee, bread, and apples, cost nearly two dollars more, and my stock was now reduced to two dollars, on which I had to travel nearly three hundred miles. Although the sum was totally inadequate for the purpose, I felt unwilling to write to my brother for more, and considered, moreover, that at such a distance, it was uncertain whether it would come to hand if I did. I therefore resolved to trust to Providence, and offer my services, should any labour capable of being accomplished by me come in the way. Pride prevented me from attempting to borrow, so long as I could work; and, indeed, from the condition of my dress, it is probable no one would have lent me money.

I therefore agreed to wood for the boat, that is, assist in carrying on board the billets for the engines. The clerk puts it in the option of the deck passengers to do this, or pay so

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much more for their passage. I should have had to pay another dollar had I not wooded. The most disagreeable part of the business was carrying the wood from the banks of the Mississippi. The first time I tried it was after having lain down on the floor, with nothing between me and the boards, as near to the stove as I could get, and covered myself with my single blanket, which I had purchased at Mackinaw, when about midnight, having fallen into a sound sleep, I was roused by the mate. I started 119 with the rest, about twenty. A plank was thrown out, resting on the shore, which presented a perpendicular bank nearly twenty feet high, up which we had to go by candle-light. Following the example of my companions, I placed four or five pieces on my shoulder, and trudged warily along the narrow plank. We took in about six cords, and had no more wood to carry until next forenoon. This second trial was worse than the first. The bank was higher, and between it and the water was a space covered with mud of about fifteen feet. We pitched the wood down upon this place, which was so soft that many of the billets sunk out of sight, and several others were trampled down in carrying the rest. We were obliged to make a path by laying down blocks, which we replaced by others as they sunk. This was the worst wooding place on our whole route. We carried in about six cords, and were employed about an hour, whereas at the previous turn we had accomplished our task in half that time. The labour was excessive, and caused profuse perspiration, but I continued at it until finished. On our reaching the Ohio, we found the task much easier, as there were generally large scows waiting, which were fastened to the steamer, which continued running whilst we were employed in throwing out the wood into the boat, where others piled it up. The labour increased at Louisville, on account of the diminished number of the passengers. One night I was called up twice to wood, once at twelve, the other time at two o'clock. This happened because the wood was better at the latter 120 place, where, in consequence, a larger supply was taken in.

The first day I was on board I observed several of the passengers at the stern of the boat, where there is a small space to walk in, enclosed by a railing, looking up through some holes cut through the flooring above, and by laughter expressing their gratification.

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The object of their merriment did not strike me at the moment; but one of them let it out in making some casual remarks to me, when he observed that he had seen something exceedingly interesting. This practice was continued, and I learned from the conversation of the boatmen, that it was pretty general in the other boats. These holes, of which I saw six in different places, are made in the flooring above the lower deck, and in the only part where ladies can sit or walk in the open air. Disgusted by the conduct of these people, I meditated putting the ladies on their guard, but the inevitable indelicacy in doing so prevented me. Several of the cabin passengers came down for the purpose of spying, but seeing some of the others there, went away. To have spoken to the captain about the matter would merely have raised a laugh at my expense, as he could not but have been well aware of the existence of these holes, some of which were half an inch in diameter. This occurrence, together with numerous gross remarks, showed me the taste of the people in this respect; and from a strict attention to the habits and conversation of the richer, I found them also very generally equally gross. Indeed, I am convinced, from various appearances, 121 that as much immorality and irreligion exist in the States, as in any country in Europe; and although the people there may not yet have attained the acme of vice boasted of by France, they are fast verging towards it.

As to their politics, it appears to me that there is just as much aristocratic feeling in America as in Britain. Although the poorer classes affect to equal themselves with the richer, yet they bow as much to them as in Europe. Three distinct classes are traceable in the States—the richest, the middle, and the poor. In time, the distinction will be more marked. The richest ape European manners, and expect obsequiousness from the poor, insomuch that, not content with the manners of their countrymen, they prefer Europeans as servants. In almost all the principal hotels in the United States, two-thirds of the servants are Europeans or Negroes, the former being more polite than natives, and the latter being taught great servility in their bondage, in those States where slavery is patronized.

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Having little more than two dollars in my pocket, and the mate telling the lower deck passengers that if they chose to assist in loading the boat with pig-iron, they should be paid 25 cents per hour, I accompanied such as chose to the foundry. The pieces were very heavy, often requiring two to lift them. At this work I continued four hours, but was then obliged to leave off, having entirely exhausted myself. I thus earned a dollar, for which I worked harder than I have ever done in my life. My hands were much injured, especially the ends of the fingers, F 122 from which the skin subsequently came off. I was now placed in a situation in which the practical knowledge of some trade would have been of use to me. Had I learned those of a carpenter or blacksmith, I could most readily have got employment in any of the large towns through which I passed; and by remaining there eight or ten days could have earned as much as would have carried me to the end of my journey. Besides, I should thus have enjoyed an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with the habits and customs of the American mechanics. I mention these trades as those in greatest request, though those of the tailor or shoemaker would have been equally useful to me. In my opinion, it would be of great utility in our institutions to teach the most important mechanical operations. When I was educated by my worthy guardian, he could not foresee that I should be thus situated; and far less did I ever dream of such an occurrence; but the vicissitudes of life ought to impress upon all the necessity of acquiring useful knowledge. Whatever may be the rank or fortune of an individual, it is possible that he may at some time of his life stand in need of such knowledge; and besides, the practice would advance the science of mechanics beyond that monotonous routine to which it has hitherto been confined.

Great Britain cannot better advance her prosperity than by fostering mechanics. Institutions ought to be formed, combining the theory and practice, which would afford the student facilities in accomplishing any theoretical improvement that might be suggested by his imagination. Were I as rich as Cræsus, and had a family which I could leave independent, I would yet have my sons taught mechanics, instead of spending their time in studying to little advantage the dead languages, which could be of slight use to

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them, even as an accomplishment. It is seldom that in after life an opportunity occurs even of showing one's knowledge of these languages; it is considered pedantic to quote Latin or Greek in company; and it says little for the moderns that the ancients should be so much esteemed by them. Though we regard with veneration an old oak, we do not neglect to cultivate young ones. These ancients seem to hang on our necks like a millstone. Why should we be under bondage to them? They had no printing-presses, no steam-engines, no chronometers, no gunpowder, no gas-light; and if our knowledge of their science has enabled us to improve upon them, why should we not equally advance in philosophy, poetry, and general literature, all which we slavishly model after their fashion?

At Cincinnati, which is a very pretty town, we remained about four hours. We then proceeded to Wheeling, in Virginia, a small manufacturing town, above which are several others. At Wellsville, forty-nine miles distant from Pittsburgh, in Ohio, I left the boat, having been thirteen days on the passage, which comprehended a space of 1400 miles, during which I never had my clothes off, but slept on the boards, with nothing beneath me, and only a single blanket as a covering. When the nights were very frosty, I used to creep near the stove, 124 where I was sometimes almost half roasted. About the middle of the night I generally got up, and cut wood to keep it burning. Three other passengers, who had no coffee-pot, joined me at meals, but I used to cook for all, as the rest were not so good at it. I kneaded the Indian corn into cakes, fired them, fried the ham and sausages, and prepared the coffee. Besides all this, I frequently wooded twice a day, and thus was kept in exercise. Although I cooked only twice a day, about eight in the morning, and five in the evening, we found the two meals quite sufficient. I have spent a winter night more than once among my native hills, as well as those of "Green Erin," exposed to the snow drift, and have sat pent up in a coach, night after night, while crossing the mountains of Illyria, in the cold and gloomy month of November; but my situation on board the steamer was much more uncomfortable for the first two or three nights, the deck being so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand, much less to sit; the place cumbered with wood, and filled with smoke, extremely irritating to unaccustomed eyes; the small space outside equally

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crowded, and extremely cold from the intensity of the frost. However, habit reconciles us to many inconveniences, and by degrees I learned to submit to my fate, although for several days the deck was crowded to excess, and the passengers which we left here and there were substituted by others. Altogether, this voyage was one which I shall not readily forget.

How delighted I was to get ashore may easily be conceived. The first thing I did was to eat a good breakfast, which was truly a luxury to me. Then getting on my back the sack which contained my coffee-pot and other property, part of which I had in vain tried to dispose of before leaving the boat, I started for Lake Erie. The neighbourhood of Wellsville is very hilly, and a deep ravine extends to some distance from it. The wood is principally hard, being of oak, walnut, hickory, birch, &c. The fields were cleared of stumps, and enclosed by zigzag fences, as in Canada. The chief grain is Indian corn, which they appear to prefer to any other. At the distance of fourteen miles from Wellsville, I passed through New Lisbon, which is a rising place. A large cotton manufactory was building, and a canal communicated with the Ohio. Seeing some fine apples in an orchard by the road, I went into a house to purchase a few, when I was informed by a woman that I might take as many as I chose to eat, which I accordingly did. In many of the States where orchards are numerous, any traveller is allowed to help himself to the fruit. A similar practice exists in France and Italy as to the grapes, of which one may eat as much as he pleases, although he is not allowed to carry any away. A great deal of cider is made in Ohio. Several substantial brick-houses were seen, and on large farms they generally have extensive barns, as in Canada, into which they put all their grain. Coming to a small village, twenty-eight miles distant from Wellsville, I put up there for the night. I now found that I might, with advantage to myself at least, have been more sparing of the good people's apples, for I was seized with a violent cholic, which completely banished sleep during the night, and prevented me from starting next morning until after breakfast. Although still very weak, I was obliged to push on, as I had only two dollars in my pocket. About one o'clock, having asked some water at a farm house, I was presented with some bread, cheese, and milk, for which no charge was made. The next village that I passed was Warren, fifty

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miles distant from Wellsville. Four miles beyond it, night coming on, I inquired respecting an inn, but was told there was none for ten miles. I therefore went to a substantial brick house, and asked the woman who came to the door if she could accommodate me for the night. She seemed at first unwilling, until I told her that I had walked thirty miles, and was fatigued, when she invited me to enter. Although the house was very large, it seemed badly planned in the interior. The owner did not make his appearance until dark, and, in the meantime, I had to render to his wife a full account of myself, and inform her where I had come from, whither I was going, what were my objects and prospects. The people of the western country seem never satisfied until they have known all about you, and contrive to find it out. This inquisitiveness must give them a superior tact for cross-interrogation. I found the husband a sensible man. His sister, a pleasant girl of about twenty-four, had read Sir Walter Scott's works, and was conversant with many of our poets. We had apple-pie and cider to supper, and my bed was very comfortable, although some panes in the window were 127 broken. Next morning I got up by daylight, and found the master of the house in the kitchen, which in such houses is the sitting-room, and asked him what I had to pay. He would take nothing, however, beyond thanks. Independently of the advantage to the individual thus succoured, it is pleasant to meet with such traits of benevolence in any country; and I believe there are few, especially of those not densely peopled, in which one may not occasionally experience such kindness.

Once, when on a pedestrian tour, with my youngest brother and the M—of R., I was similarly treated in the Highlands of Scotland, where hospitality is still practised in many districts as of old. We had been visiting Staffa and Iona, and having landed at Ardnamurchan from Tobermory in Mull, walked up Loch Sunart, until we got benighted, when rain beginning to pour in torrents, we met a man on the road, and made inquiry respecting an inn. He informed us that we were four miles distant from a small public-house at the ferry, and about fifteen miles from Fort-William; but that there was in the neighbourhood a Colonel M'—, who, however, was from home, although his tenant, Mr M'—, was very hospitable. It was in the month of October, and about nine o'clock at night,

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when we called on this gentleman, who entertained us most hospitably. Next morning we left him with regret, for the whole family had shown us great attention. I gave him my address in Edinburgh, saying I should be glad to return his hospitality, but I have not seen him since.

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On another occasion, when on a solitary pedestrian tour in Ireland, I arrived at Killarney with my knapsack on my back, and at dinner met with a young Irishman, who was very social. On my telling him that I had not yet seen the Lakes, he said he would see who was in the house, and get a party to go, which would render my visit more agreeable and less expensive. Accordingly, he got three others and went himself, although he had often been there before. We had four hands in the boat—a steersman, two rowers, and a bugleman, and landing at Lord Kinmare's cottage, left our provisions there, fired our cannon, which reverberated in a thousand echoes among the mountains; and having spent the day on the lake, returned to dine at the cottage, which his Lordship has very obligingly built for the accommodation of strangers, ate some salmon of the lake, quaffed our poteen, and regained our inn about nine at night, delighted with our day's excursion. Although we were all strangers to each other that morning, we soon became as frank and unreserved as if we had been friends for years. My companions on this trip were Mr T., an English clergyman, Mr C. L., and Mr W. from Dublin. Next morning we hired a car, and taking our breakfast with us, drove to the Gap of Dunloe. Getting our kettle boiled in a hut, we laid our cloth on a rock, and breakfasted in true travellers' style. Here we parted, probably never to meet again, with T. and W., who returned. L. and I walked on to the Bay of Bantry, where he parted, giving me his address in Dublin. Some weeks after, having reached Dublin, I had only remaining 129 a note of the Bank of England, which, having got many wettings, was so crumpled and worn that they refused to change it at the hotel. I took it to the bank, but was not more fortunate there, the president's name having been obliterated; so that, with a ten-pound note I was pennyless. On returning, I was laid up with sickness and a severe cold, when fortunately I thought of writing to L., who presently came, and on my

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disclosing my situation to him, offered me whatever money I wanted. As my clothes were nearly worn out, and my illness would prevent my travelling farther on foot, I told him I wanted a suit of clothes. He accordingly sent for his tailor, and I ordered the clothes. In the meantime, however, I had written to my agent, and before the clothes came had received a remittance. I saw L. almost every day during my confinement, and still cherish a lively gratitude towards him, although it has not been my good fortune to meet with him since.

I have frequently travelled in England, both by coach and on foot; but never met with any hospitality there; nor have I experienced more in France or Switzerland; but in Italy, and even in Rome, that wonder of the world, I have been most kindly treated. My friend Ord, and a Mr F. from London, whom we had met at the Vatican, strolled out one afternoon to see St Paul's, which is upwards of a mile without the walls of the city. The church had been burnt down, and was then rebuilding: and when we had satisfied our curiosity, we turned off to see St Sebastian's, in going to which we passed several 130 pretty cassinos or villas, and as we were looking through a gate into a large vineyard, a person very ordinarily dressed came up, and addressed us in Italian, asking if we wished to see the place. We consulted as to whether we had time to go, and resolved not to enter unless there were ruins to be seen. The stranger very good-naturedly waited the result of our deliberations, when we, much in the manner of Scotchmen, instead of answering his question, asked him another, namely, whether there were any ruins? He said there were none, but observed that it would be worth our while to look through the vineyard, and see the wine and brandy in process of being made. So we resolved to go in, and on our saying so, he requested us to walk a little farther on till we came to another gate, of which he would get the key. We did so, and found him ready to receive us, when he invited us to enter his cassino, and taste his wine. He gave us a bottle of arvino, an excellent wine, showed us his paintings, offered us his carriage to St Sebastian, took us through his extensive vineyards, and asked us to come back and spend the evening with him, offering to drive us in. All this, however, we declined, but accepted an invitation to breakfast next morning, in his palace in Rome. We not only dined with him afterwards at his cassino, but

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every day during our stay in Rome he came to our hotel, Frantz's in Via Condotte, in his carriage, and drove us to see the antiquities. He was the son of a very wealthy nobleman, of the most polished manners, frank and affable, spoke French with fluency, and was remarkably quick in taking up our 131 meaning, which it required some sagacity to do, as we were not very proficient in the use of his language.

In the United States of America, hospitality is not an uncommon virtue. It is a custom amongst the farmers, when travelling, to go to each other's houses, instead of going to the inns. In this case a much less charge is made, and many of the richer farmers make none at all.

Proceeding on my journey, I walked through a well cultivated district, and after dark arrived at Ashtonburgh, where there was only one inn, and it was so crowded that I was obliged to sleep with a bedfellow. This I had done once only before, at Peoria, where my companion was Dr Clarke, with whom I was in a manner acquainted; but here I had to sleep with a stranger, of whom I knew nothing, and was obliged to submit to the inconvenience, as there was no other mode of obtaining the repose of which I was greatly in need, having walked thirty-two miles, with a heavy load on my back.

Next morning I started early, and reached Ashtahala to breakfast. On inquiry, I found that I might have to wait two or three days before a steamer or other convenience might arrive to take me to Buffalo. Ashtahala is two miles from Lake Erie, and ninety-six miles from Wellsville. A person having overheard my inquiries, told me he was going to Erie with a waggon, and would take me there for a dollar, a distance of forty miles. He expected to reach within ten miles of it that night. I agreed with him for half a dollar, and after breakfast 132 out. He informed me that he had been getting in the crop of a farm which he had purchased in Ohio, intending to sell the one he possessed in Pennsylvania, and was on his return to the latter to take his family. He seemed a shrewd man, though much addicted to drinking. We arrived at Erie in the morning, when, on paying him the fare agreed upon, I found that I had only a dollar and seven cents remaining. Finding that

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there was a schooner there to sail that afternoon, I went on board, but the captain would not take me to Buffalo for less than three dollars. I offered to do what I could on board, and told him that I had only a dollar in my pocket, on which he offered to take me for it, provided I should work in the steamer, and assist in loading her at Buffalo. Thinking the terms hard, I did not accept his offer, though I would have been obliged to do so in the course of the day, had not a steamer come in, on which I ran eagerly to see the captain, who said his deck passage was two dollars. I waited a little, as he seemed to be in a hurry to get in wood, and again stepping up, told him my condition, offering him a dollar for my passage, together with my labour in carrying in the wood. He agreed, much to my satisfaction, and, about twelve o'clock, we left Erie, expecting to reach Buffalo by five next morning. I had offered the cabin-boy two cents to get me some biscuits, when he sent me into the steward's room to take what coffee, bread, and meat I wanted. I thanked him very heartily, regretting I could not otherwise reward his good offices, and making the best use of my time, laid in an ample 133 store of provisions. I knew not when I should get the next meal, and therefore victualled the garrison to stand a heavy siege. After this I had some hours of sound sleep, from which I was roused by their letting off the steam, which nearly suffocated me. When day broke, I found we were at Buffalo.

I had still eighty miles to travel to my brother, with only eight cents in my pocket. At the Black Rock I had to cross in the ferry-boat the River Niagara, which runs out of Lake Eric at Buffalo, and enters Lake Ontario at the village of Niagara. When they were collecting the fare, before the boat started, I tendered my eight cents, eighteen being demanded, stating that I had no more, having travelled far and spent all my money. The clerk seemed to sympathise with me, as he said little, and took what I offered. Having landed at Waterloo, on the Canada side, I started for Chippewa. About twelve o'clock, having walked fifteen miles, I became very hungry, and meditated a descent upon some of the farm houses, but was prevented by pride. Often did I muster up resolution to enter the next house and request something to eat, but when I came near, my heart failed me. At length, hunger fairly overcame my scruples, and I went to a large farm house, where,

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meeting at the door a man whom I supposed to be the owner, I asked him very politely for a little bread and milk. He said he would order it, and desired me to walk in, when, to my mortification, I found a bar where liquors of all kinds were arranged. I, therefore, explained my condition to him, stating that having no money, and 134 supposing the house to be a farmer's, I had called to ask a morsel of bread. He told me gruffly that he was not in the habit of giving any thing without money, but said I might take the bread and milk. Seeing his churlish temper, however, I could not prevail upon myself to accept his bounty, and told him I was sorry I had put him to trouble, to which he replied that I was saucy, and desired me to leave his house. After walking five miles more to Chippewa, I felt so exhausted, that I resolved to go to the principal inn kept by a Mr Davis, and offering my five-barrelled pistol in pledge, requested the loan of a few dollars, or a seat in the coach to Hamilton. He would only give me two dollars, however, and said that, as he was not a partner in the coach, he could not give me a seat, but advised me to walk on to St Catherine's, ten miles distant, where the hotel keeper owned a share of the coach, and would likely give me a seat. Faint as I was, I was therefore obliged to walk on, and coming to the Falls, turned off by a cross road down Lundie's Lane, when, after walking about four miles, I could no longer withstand the temptation offered by a large farm-house. So I went up, and rapping at the kitchen door, asked the servant for a little bread and milk, on which she expressed her regret at the absence of her mistress, which prevented her from giving me anything, but called to another servant girl, who, on learning my condition, kindly supplied me with three or four cakes and a piece of salt beef, for which I of course thanked her very cordially. Retiring with my prize, I lay down by the road and 135 devoured it with avidity, not having tasted food for twenty-four hours, and in that time having walked twenty-eight miles. Whilst I lay eating, a man driving a waggon came up, when, thinking it a good opportunity of getting a ride, I started up and asked him to take me in, to which he gave his assent. In the course of conversation I inquired if he knew where I could get a waggon to hire to take me twelve miles beyond Dundas. He said he did, but supposed I could not afford to pay the hire, saying it would amount to eight dollars. I said I was willing to give six, and he agreed to take me for seven. It was proposed, however, that I should pay so much in

advance, whereupon I informed him that I had not a single cent, but showed him my pistol and ring, which I offered to give him until we reached my brother's. On this he put about his waggon, and returned three miles to his house, where I staid all night. His wife was very attentive, and the rest and food which I obtained, with the prospect of a comfortable conveyance, invigorated my wearied frame. This honest man, who was a Yankee, and had been a tavern-keeper, now rented a hundred acres of land, which he farmed. We started in the morning, and passed through the well cleared and fertile district of Niagara by a good road. At six o'clock we reached Hamilton, having travelled fifty miles, and getting as far as a mile beyond Dundas, remained all night at a tavern. Next morning we arrived at my brother's, in time for breakfast.

The worst road that I have seen in Canada is between Dundas and my brother's house, being 136 about twelve miles. This tract of land belongs to Sir Isaac Broke's heirs, who will not sell it for less than four dollars an acre; and, as much of it is swampy, it may be many years before it is sold. In the meantime, the road passing through this uncleared ground is kept constantly wet and miry. In a young country such as Canada, it is certainly bad policy to give large grants of land to individuals, unless they design to improve them; for if they do not, they will not sell them to other settlers under a certain price. This of course is very detrimental to the improvement of the district, as it impedes settlers, and drives them away to other parts.

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CHAPTER VI. THE EASTERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

Falls of Niagara.—Buffalo and Genesee.—Mr Wadsworth's farm Auburn.—Utica.—Albany.—New York.—Boston.—A Funeral.—Return to New York.—Porters.—Philadelphia.—Ladies.—Baltimore.—Washington.—Congress.—Conversation with a Deist.—Fredericksburg—Petersburgh.—Bakely.—Halifax.—Raleigh.—Fayetteville.—Altercation with a fellow traveller.—Columbia.—Milledgeville.

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Having remained nine days with my brother, I left his house on the 15th of November, in his waggon, driven by himself, and reached Hamilton in time for the steamer to Toronto. My brother accompanied me to that place, where we arrived at seven o'clock, and put up at Campbell's Hotel. He left me next day, and on the following I set out for Niagara, which I reached at six o'clock, and where coaches were waiting to take the passengers to the Falls. The road being very bad, we did not arrive until eleven o'clock, although the distance is only fourteen miles. By the way we passed through Queenston, near which, on an eminence, is a monument erected to the memory of General Brocke, who distinguished himself in the war with the States. From the window of my bed-room in the Pavilion 138 Hotel, I had a good view of the Falls, when the vapour and spray allowed them to be seen.

The Falls of Niagara, justly esteemed one of the most stupendous natural objects, have so often been described, that I may well be excused from inflicting a laboured account of them upon the reader. The water, which here falls over a perpendicular limestone rock, fifty feet high on the Canadian side, and ninety on the American, is the surplus of Lake Superior, which communicates with Lake Huron by the River St Mary's, while the latter lake pours its waters by the St Clair and Detroit rivers into Lake Erie, which communicates with Lake Ontario by the River Niagara, on which are the celebrated Falls. Previous to its descent over the rock, the river is divided into two branches by Grant Island, Naval Island, and, immediately above the Falls, by Goat Island. On the Canadian side, the rock is of an angular form, and is called the Horse Shoe. On the side of the river, at a short distance from the Fall, is a projecting ledge named the Table Rock, from which one has a fine view of the descent of the waters. Underneath a part of the Fall is a cavity, by which a person may proceed behind the waters as far as a point called Termination Rock. As almost all strangers visit this rock, I resolved not to be behind my neighbours, although the prospect of being drenched, with the temperature below the freezing point, was not inviting. On signifying my wish to the woman who lives in a small frame-house near Table Rock, selling comfits and specimens of gypsum collected in the neighbourhood, I 139 was furnished with a dress for the occasion, consisting of a green oil-skin jacket, without

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buttons, the want of which is compensated by a piece of list tied round the waist, a pair of canvas trowsers, worsted hose, old shoes, and a straw-hat painted green. Next my skin I had a flannel shirt, and in place of a handkerchief a stocking. I laughed heartily at my grotesque appearance, and should no doubt have still more enjoyed the sight of a party thus accoutred. A boy similarly dressed conducted me beneath the Fall. The path is narrow and slippery, so that the footing is bad, and not without danger, as there is a considerable chasm below. My conductor informed me that few accidents had occurred. The water pours down on the head and shoulders as you proceed along the narrow space of about fifty yards, which ends at Termination Rock. My canvas trowsers having been soaked, and the water having made its way down my neck, I became excessively cold, and therefore remained but a very short time. Before I had dressed again, I began to enjoy a fine glow of heat, which was exceedingly refreshing. For several hours after this I gazed on the mass of rushing and foaming waters that poured headlong in magnificent curves, reflecting the light in varied tints, and stunning the sense with their mighty roar. In contemplating such a scene, one contrasts the littleness of man, and all his works, with the vastness of nature, an indescribable feeling of wonder and awe pervades the mind, and the traveller who for the first time views the Falls of Niagara, can scarcely withdraw himself from them. The impression made on the mind remains for ever, and his visit to the mighty cataract forms an epoch in his life. Next day I visited the museum, where there is a good collection of minerals, beautifully arranged, crossed the ferry to Manchester, and had a view of the Falls from a tower erected above them on piles driven into the ground. Here I met a Mr Roy, brother to Roy of Nenthorn, who informed me that the latter had died last spring, at Philadelphia, of inflammation in the throat. This gentleman had settled at Niagara, having purchased some land there, and was building a large saw-mill to be driven by steam.

Leaving Niagara, I proceeded to Chippewa, passed from thence to Waterloo, crossed to Black Rock, went on to Buffalo, and there took the stage called Telegraph for Avon. For more than ten miles from Buffalo the road is wretched. Every two minutes the fore

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wheels first went down into a deep hole, then the hind ones, so that we had as much motion as if we had been at sea, and of as disagreeable a kind. Several times we were very nearly upset, although we travelled at the rate of only two miles per hour. Had we not been tightly wedged in our seats, the greater proportion of the passengers being stout, some of us must have got broken heads; as it was, we were well jostled and shaken. After this, however, the road became better, and allowed us to quicken our pace. The soil in this district is clayey and productive. We reached Avon next day at twelve, and dined there. Setting out again at two, we arrived at Genesee, nine miles 141 distant, at a quarter after four. The soil about Avon is rather light, having limestone underneath, but at Genesee it is more clayey. Here I called on Mr Wadsworth, whom I knew in Edinburgh, and who had given me a letter of introduction to his father, in case he should not be at home when I reached his place. I found him, however, and visiting him again, spent an agreeable evening with him, staying until nine. No tea, however, made its appearance, and as I had missed that meal at the inn, I tasted nothing from one o'clock until breakfast.

Next morning, young Wadsworth sent over a horse for me, and soon after came himself. In riding over part of his farm, he showed me his large flocks of merino sheep, which he rears on an extensive scale, and some of his cattle, which, however, were inferior to many of our British breeds. After breakfast, we rode to his dairy, where I saw abundance of cheese, little inferior to Gloucester. He keeps between seventy and eighty cows, of a good breed, and had brought from Scotland one of the Ayrshire kind, with which he was well pleased. I saw two bulls driving a waggon, one of them being a fine short-horn, which he had lately got from England. This to me seemed strange treatment, although he appeared to think that the labour did them no harm. He contended, that, for loads, his waggons were superior to our carts. An oak by the river, supposed to be the largest in the States, measures twenty-four feet in girth. The stream is fast undermining it, and it will, no doubt, soon be 142 thrown down, which the owner will not regret, as it brings a multitude of visitors, who often leave the gates open, and take dogs with them, which disturb the sheep and cattle. The Earl of Selkirk, the Hon. Mr Murray, and several English gentlemen, had

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been to see him. Indeed, almost all travellers go there, as he is one of the most extensive breeders in the States.

Next morning I set out for Auburn, where I meant to have staid a day, to visit the state prison; but the weather looked so stormy, the snow lying half a foot deep, and continuing to fall, that I resolved to proceed to New York as speedily as possible. Passing through Canandaigua and Auburn, both neat towns, and having several pretty villas in their neighbourhood, I reached Utica, where I got a steam-car to Albany, by the railroad. We left Utica at five o'clock, and reached Albany at one, taking eight hours for a distance of ninety-six miles. There is much delay at taking in water at the different places, and they are not so expeditious as at Liverpool.

Albany, the capital of New York, is a handsome town, though small. The state-house stands on an eminence overlooking the town, and commanding a view of the river. At four o'clock I got on board the Swallow steamer, a fast boat, with good accommodations. There were three tiers of berths, each three separated by curtains running on rods projecting from the upper berth about a yard, which shut out the three from the rest, and, with the exception of the uppermost berth, being difficult to attain. The berths are large and commodious, having shelves for clothes, and other little conveniences, which our contracted berths preclude, though some of our boats have an advantage, for the berths in them being separated from the cabin, permit the passenger to rest as quietly as may be expected from his situation; whereas the continued chattering and laughter that were kept up throughout the whole night on board this steamer, prevented much sleep, custom alone obviating this drawback. There being upwards of an hundred on board, an incessant spitting or squirting of tobacco-juice occurred, as well as the continued nuisance of belching, so disgusting to a European. Some difficulty occurred in getting meals. The Americans travel a great deal, both in summer and winter. Though the season was cold, there were several ladies on board; and I was informed that they travel at all periods of the year. I regretted extremely that I was obliged to come down the Hudson in the dark, and thus lose the opportunity which I should otherwise have had of viewing its beautiful

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scenery. At this season only one boat in the day plied between Albany and New York, which set out at four in the evening, and arrived at six next morning. Had I been a day later, I should have had to travel by land, as the river was closed next day by the ice.

When we reached New York, several porters and coachmen came on board, and I bargained with one of the latter to drive my luggage to the Astor House for three shillings; but my luggage being locked up, I could not get it at the time, and when I at last 144 obtained it, the coachman was out of the way. I therefore got a porter, and walked up. He would not take less than three shillings. Thinking his charge much too high, I appealed to the book-keeper, who told me the usual payment was from three to four shillings; on which I paid the money, but resolved henceforth to make a bargain before employing a porter. The Astor House, situated in the Broadway, the principal street in New York, is said to be the largest hotel in the world, and it is certainly a spacious building. The hours for meals are eight o'clock for breakfast, three for dinner, and half-past six for supper. On Sunday they have dinner half an hour earlier. The guests are called to their meals by a gong, which is heard over the whole building. About an hundred gentlemen sat down to dinner almost every day.

I was much disappointed with the appearance of New York; for, although it occupies a large extent of ground, the streets are narrow, and the houses dark, most of them having green shutters to the windows. In Broadway are some fine shops, which, however, are not half so elegant as those of George Street in Edinburgh, or Regent Street in London. Most of the ladies whom I saw on the principal streets, and in the theatres, were very inferior in beauty to those of any town in Britain. The most imposing sight was afforded by the forest of masts that nearly surrounded the city, which is built on a peninsula, and conveyed to the mind a striking idea of the vastness of the trade carried on, and of the wealth that must be accumulated in this great emporium of the western 145 world. The quay is narrow, and consequently dirty. The principal square, Washington, of which the College, built of marble, forms one side, is paltry. There is a fine Gothic building, the State House, which has a marble front, and a large open space before and behind called the Park; behind are

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the courts of law and the post-office, forming the head of the Broadway, which may be said to terminate in the basin formed by the Hudson River. The Astor House, opposite the theatre, is, as I have already said, of great extent, but has a sombre appearance, being built of grey granite, of very close texture. Some of the houses, by way of ornament, have their fronts, a little above the door, of marble, and are furnished with steps of the same material, which contrasts ill with the blackened brick above.

After remaining two days in New York, I started in a steamer for Providence, going up what is called East River, which divides Long Island from New York State, and then proceeded up Providence River. We left New York at four in the evening, and were at Providence at eight next morning. By the railway I went on to Boston, which I reached at twelve o'clock. The country in this course is extremely barren, the surface being every where composed of sand or granite, and the trees stunted. At Boston I put up in the Tremont Hotel, in the street of the same name, opposite the principal theatre, which is a handsome building, as is the hotel, both being built of the grey granite, which is a very abundant rock in Massachusetts, and in G 146 the adjoining State of Connecticut. Massachusetts is chiefly supported by its manufactures, its soil being too poor to afford sufficient agricultural produce for the population. There is a large establishment of manufacturing works at Lowell. The streets of Boston are generally long but narrow, the ground on which the city is built being confined by the water, which almost surrounds it. Its site, however, is the most romantic of any in the States. The Common is a large piece of ground, planted with trees, and intersected with gravelled walks neatly laid out. In the centre is a large elm tree of considerable antiquity, and having its limbs supported by iron brackets. Near this tree is a small piece of water, which, being frozen over, was covered with boys skating and sliding. From the State House, which stands on an eminence, there is a magnificent prospect, including a view of the Town Common, Massachusetts Bay, the St Charles River, and the adjacent country, which is flat for several miles, and bounded by hills of moderate height. Several wooden bridges thrown across the Bay River, add considerably to the beauty of the scenery, and are of great length, some of them extending a mile. Passengers pay a

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cent each time they cross, excepting on one of these bridges, which leads to Charleston. The principal street, Washington, is narrow, and by no means so fine as Broadway in New York. Crossing by Warren Bridge, I ascended Bunker's Hill, where the American insurgents defeated the British, forcing them to evacuate Boston. A granite pyramid was erecting in commemoration 147 of this exploit. In the evening I went to the Lion Theatre, a small but neat house in Washington Street. The acting was pretty good. It was better in the Tremont Theatre, which is a good house, as is the National Theatre, both the latter being superior to the Edinburgh Theatre.

The next day being Thanksgiving Day, was set apart for public worship, but was spent in feasting and amusement, the theatre being open and well filled at night. From what I have observed, I feel authorised in stating, that Sunday is little observed by the greater part of the Americans, who spend it more as a holiday than as one devoted to the worship of their Creator. Walking in the Common one afternoon, I saw a funeral attended by four or five coaches, and about a dozen persons in coloured clothes. The coffin was of mahogany, and had no pall. It was taken out of the hearse, and put into a recess in a sunk wall, previous to which one of the attendants drew off a part of the lid, and exposed the glass plate which allowed the face of the corpse to be seen. Each in succession went up, and looking on the features of the deceased, seemed as if bidding him farewell, and then departed. This taking a last look of the dead seemed to me a very affecting scene, although I by no means felt reconciled to the red coffin and the coloured clothes of the mourners. The wearing of a peculiar dress, adapted to the occasion, shows to the world that the deceased is mourned for, and tends to keep his remembrance alive; and so apt are we to forget our best interests, as well as our most endearing 148 ties, that any thing serving to remind us of them cannot fail to be beneficial.

I returned to New York, and going to the Park Theatre, which is a good house, and was well filled, saw Mademoiselle Augusta, a French dancer, enact her part to the general satisfaction. In all pieces in which majesty is personated, the American actors seem to me to fail, their manner being too familiar and common-place. From this want of dignity they

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necessarily fail in representing the Spanish character. In a piece which I saw performed at Boston, they introduce into a Chinese scene a Yankee, whom they make familiar with the king, as if any dignified potentate could submit to associate with a being so uncouth as the Yankee makes himself. They are fond of pieces of this kind, which, however, are absurd and intolerable to foreigners. Their scenery is very well got up. I also went to the National Theatre at New York, and saw the Rouel family perform on the slack rope; and certainly never did I behold such feats of strength and agility as they displayed. There were several brothers and two sisters.

During all my stay at the Astor House, I was never spoken to by any other person there than one of the lieutenants of the 32d regiment, who had arrived from Montreal the day before I left. At Boston, and on board the steamer, I had occasionally spoken to my neighbours at meals; but they returned short answers, and seemed so intent on eating that they could not afford time for conversation. They rarely sit longer at table than from five to ten 149 minutes, and are the most unsocial race that I have ever met with, especially towards the British. The lieutenant made the same complaint of them. There are two museums and a good menagerie in New York. From the top of Peale's Museum there is an excellent view of the town and the rich scenery around. There are several Episcopalians and Presbyterians in the country. One Sunday evening a friend of mine took me to a church called the Tabernacle, a large circular building in Hudson Street, where I heard a ranting preacher. The building was much crowded, and is very notorious as a place of assignation to meet females.

After staying four days in New York, I left in a steamer for New Jersey. On arriving there I got a railway car, which took me to Chesapeake Bay, whence a steamer carried us down the bay, on both sides of which the scenery is fine. Passing the mouth of the Susquhanna, we entered the Delaware, up which we proceeded until we reached Philadelphia at six o'clock in the evening, eleven hours having been spent on the way. During the whole voyage, I had not a single word spoken to me. Landing at the quay, which is narrow, and, therefore, necessarily dirty, on account of the great trade carried on, I went to the United

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States Hotel in Chesnut Street. Having forgot my resolution on a former occasion, I had allowed one of the Negroes on board to carry up my luggage, without making any bargain with him. He demanded 75 cents, which seemed to me a most extravagant charge. I offered him half a dollar, thinking it too much, but he refused it, and rather than have contention I paid his demand. I felt annoyed at having allowed myself to be imposed upon a second time; but I had been put off my guard by having found at Boston a fixed charge of a quarter of a dollar, for which the passenger and his luggage are conveyed in a coach the distance of a mile. The accommodations in the hotel were not so good as at New York or Boston. The Astor House is the only one in America at which I have seen napkins used at dinner.

In regularity, neatness, and cleanliness, Philadelphia, I think, excels all the cities of the United States. The streets are generally large, and there are some fine buildings of white marble. In the Museum, I found a good collection of birds. The most interesting object, however, was the skeleton of the Mastodon, which must have been an enormous animal. The Museum forms the upper part of a building in the form of a square, the lower part being occupied by shops, fronting Chesnut Street. I went to the Chesnut and Walnut Street Theatres. The ladies, I believe, are objects of special attraction to all travellers, old or young, grave or gay; and here I had an opportunity of gratifying myself by a sight of "the beauty and fashion" of Philadelphia. I have already said that the women of New York are very ordinary; those of Boston I found considerably more attractive; but the ladies of Philadelphia are charming, and indeed superior in point of beauty to most in Britain, coming nearer to those of Italy than any that I have seen, although their features are very different.

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Leaving Philadelphia, after a stay of three days, I started at seven in the morning for Baltimore, by the steamer, which carried us to Newcastle Delaware, where we got into steamers, that put us down at Frenchtown, sixteen miles distant. These cars, and those between Baltimore and Washington, which have stoves, are the most commodious I

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have seen. We got another steamer, which carried us down Chesapeake Bay, and up the Delaware to Baltimore, where we arrived at seven in the evening. Peale's Hotel, at which I lodged, is far superior to any in Philadelphia. I went to a concert, but found the singing nothing uncommon. The ladies I saw were very ordinary, though I have heard those of Baltimore much praised for beauty.

Next morning, I started in the steam-car for Washington, where we arrived at twelve o'clock, having taken five hours by the way. The immediate neighbourhood of this city is a barren waste, the soil being thin, light, and marshy. I went to Tadesby's Hotel, in the principal street, an old house, with the rooms not so comfortable as at Baltimore and New York. About eighty persons were staying there, among whom were several members of Congress. The Capitol is a spacious building, situated on an eminence, overlooking the town, and in a line with the principal street, of which the President's house forms one extremity, while the Capitol forms the other, upwards of a mile distant. I did not see a single street that was finished, which may be owing to the city's having been burnt by the British under the command of General Ross. 152 From the Capitol, one has a very extensive view of the Potomac River, and the distant country, which is thickly wooded. I went to the Senate, where I saw Clay, who is a tall thin man; Webster, who is stout, with a ruddy face, piercing eyes, and dark complexion; and Calhoun, who is also a stout man, but of a less interesting appearance than the others. These are considered the best speakers of the house. Mr Van Buren, who occupied the chair as Vice-President, is a little, rather good-looking, white-headed man, presenting nothing remarkable in his appearance. Each member has an arm-chair, and a small desk, on which his papers are arranged. The house is very neatly fitted up, being of a circular form, with galleries for the public, one of which is allotted to the ladies. I regretted not having heard a speech from one of the celebrated men. The house, having recently sat down, were engaged with a routine of bills introduced for after discussion. I observed two or three spit-boxes, which suggested to my mind the horror that would be excited in the British House of Lords, by the very idea of

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chewing tobacco. The members frequently left their places, went to the fire, and chatted. Two boys collected the votes, and carried them to the Vice-President.

I called on Mr Fox, our Plenipotentiary, but not finding him at home, left my card, saying, I would call again at two o'clock, at which hour I was informed he would be visible. When I returned, a woman opened the door, and told me he had been in, but had gone out again. I asked when he would be at home, so that I might have a chance of seeing him. She said she could not tell, and very uncivilly shut the door in my face. I felt a little annoyed by being so treated at the house of a British representative, and conjectured that she must be an American; but as I wished to see Mr Fox, to make inquiries as to my journey through South America, and obtain passports, I determined to return at ten next morning. At the theatre, which I visited in the evening, the acting was the worst I had seen. The house was neat, but not half filled.

Next morning, at ten, I called on Mr Fox, but he had gone out. On my inquiring when I could see him, the servant said he could not tell. I then asked if he had a secretary, and was told he had, on which I got his address, and found him. He was very polite, but said he could not give a passport to a stranger. I then asked him what I was to do, and showed him my European passports, supposing they might tend to convince him that I was not an impostor; when he directed me to go to the Spanish Legation, Signore Tacon, whose father was governor of Cuba. I accordingly waited upon this gentleman, who said that, as his principal was at New York, he could not give me a passport, but assured me there was a Consul at New Orleans, who was empowered to grant passports. Thus, after waiting two days longer than I should otherwise have done, to see our representative, I not only failed, but was rudely treated by his servants. Surely it is the duty of the representative of a government to be accessible to the subjects of that government; and, as a public man, he ought to have regular hours at which he might be seen. I knew no person at Washington from whom I could obtain information respecting my route, and the

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Americans, in general, being so taciturn, I disliked the idea of addressing any of them on the subject.

Wishing to exchange a sovereign, I presented it to the bar-keeper, who told me he did not know its value. I said I had always got 4 dollars 84 cents for one, at the different hotels which I had visited. It might be so, he said, but he knew nothing about it, and would not accommodate me, although he told me where to find a broker, alleging that the banks would not exchange my money. I thought it very extraordinary that the banks should refuse gold, but went to the broker, who gave me 4 d. 74 c. I exchanged two sovereigns. Next day I went to the United States' Bank, where I immediately got 4 d. 83 8/12 c. and exchanged thirty. On returning to the hotel, I asked them why they had said that the banks would not take sovereigns, but was merely answered, that they were not aware that they did so. Gadesby was an Englishman, and must have known their value; so that it seemed clear to me he was in league with the broker. This deceit, however, is characteristic of the nation, for the Americans are among the most designing and crafty people in the world.

When searching for Mr Fox's house, I chanced to make inquiry of a person, who turned out to be from Ireland, and with whom I had some conversation. He was a builder in the employment of government, 155 and assured me that the Americans in general were the most dishonest and unprincipled people he ever met with, insomuch that he could never trust one of them.

In walking out with an elderly gentleman from Connecticut, with whom I had some slight conversation on our journey from Baltimore the day before, we were joined by a young man who appeared to be familiar with my companion, and with whom I subsequently had the following conversation, which I introduce here, because it is in accordance with the views entertained by very many persons in America. I expressed my admiration of the prospect presented on the eminence upon which stands the Senate-house. "It is indeed a lovely view," said the American. "How far superior are the works of nature to those of man, and what a discontented and wretched being he is!"

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“The Being who made the earth,” said I, “has presented to man an image adequate to all his wants, and has inclined his Spirit to inquire into the ends of that image. How ennobling the pursuit of such an inquiry! Man retires from it the more sensible of his Maker's omniscience and goodness.”

“That there is design in the works before us, and therefore a designer, is evident; but where is he? If he made man, surely he would have impressed him very forcibly with the idea of his Creator. But so far is this from being the case, that the reasoning power with which he has gifted him seems, in a majority of his creatures, to call in question the existence of such a being. Why may not the world have 156 existed from all eternity? And does not all nature teem with what we are taught to regard as evil? That power seems the dominant one in all living creatures, from the smallest insect up to man himself.”

“I know so little of religion,” said I, “that I have reluctance to enter upon a subject like this, and especially to call in question the existence and attributes of that Being whom I have always looked up to with reverence, and whom I have been taught to worship. I would refer you to the standard theologists of the day—Paley, Chalmers, and others.”

“This is a general answer,” replied the American, with a smile, “to a question which I have often proposed. It is singular that the minority of mankind should arrogate to themselves the power of judging and condemning the majority. Cast your eye over this map of the world, (taking from his pocket a map and opening it.) See what a small part of the globe has faith in the Christian doctrines—less than a third, and that third not the most populous. Besides, the majority of those who are nominally Christians give themselves no trouble on the point, but credit what they have been taught. Their faith is merely that of their minister, who may be said to lead them entirely. Now, if man has a Creator, surely it was the part of his Maker to model him conformably to his own ideas of right and wrong. And how comes it that most Christians follow a course the reverse of that prescribed to them by their teachers?”

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“You press me so much on this point,” said I, 157 “that I cannot refrain from entering upon the subject, lest my evasion of it may lead you to suppose that my faith is in my minister. From my earliest years my parents taught me to revere and obey the Almighty Being who made the world and all that is in it. The Scriptures I was taught to regard as the revelation of His will and purposes, and I have always esteemed them as such. My views regarding right and wrong have been in conformity with them. When I became of an age to reason and judge for myself, I devoted some time to the consideration of this important subject, and thus was enabled to form my faith, which leads me to acknowledge a power superior to man, as indeed any one may at once satisfy himself by reflecting that he neither could have made himself, nor even construct the least perfect living object. My Maker has had a design in keeping himself invisible; but he manifests to me his power and wisdom in the mechanism of my own body and the faculties of my mind, which indeed are in all their relations far beyond my comprehension, as are in fact all his other works. As to God's not being, because I cannot see him, it is no better argument than that my own mind has no existence because neither I nor any other person can see it. I infer that God is, from the evidences of action and intellect, everywhere presented in the universe, and I infer that I myself am, because, although I cannot see myself, that is, my mind, I am perfectly sensible that I think, act, reflect, and resolve. I prefer my own image to that of any other living thing I have seen, and I consider myself superior to all animals. Yet 158 unless I had seen the human form, I could have formed no reasonable idea of it; and as I have not seen God, my ideas of him must be imperfect, even with the aid of the revelation which he has made of himself. I am entirely ignorant of the nature and essence of mind, or of the operations of my reasoning faculties; so that I am to myself as great a mystery as the Great First Cause is. I am equally ignorant of the necessity of devouring each other imposed upon all living creatures; nor do I know why the earth and the atmosphere should suffer periodical convulsions of such a nature as to prove destructive to the inhabitants of our globe; and many other phenomena, daily and hourly observed, I cannot at all comprehend. In some cases, to be sure, I obtain a glimpse of knowledge. Thus, were there no eagles and hawks, the smaller birds might become too numerous, and destroy

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the fruits intended for the support of man. If we consider man as scattered over the face of the earth, we find that all tribes acknowledge a Supreme Being, that the most degraded savage has some idea of a power superior to himself. As to the evil that is in the world, namely, deceit, selfishness, rapine, murder, and all sorts of injury and cruelty inflicted both by animals and by man, its causes must remain a mystery, into which we cannot penetrate, and regarding which we must rest content with the measure of knowledge afforded by revelation.”

“You confess,” replied the American, “that most people adopt the creed of their parents, without satisfying themselves as to its authenticity. Are their fathers infallible? Surely every Christian 159 acknowledges this, when he adopts the general belief of revelation without tracing the source of that belief. If any reliance is to be placed on ancient history, even on the history of the Jews as related by Moses, there is abundant evidence shown of the influence of kings in inducing the greater part of a nation to renounce their religion; When a ruler embraced infidelity, all his subjects joined him. This happened with Solomon himself. Are there not many similar occurrences in the history of every nation in the world? If it is the duty of every Christian to be conversant with this alleged revelation, how comes it that the mere reading of it should satisfy him as to its authenticity and divine origin?”

“We are naturally imbued with a divine spirit,” I replied, “which teaches us right and wrong. This spirit it is that impresses upon our minds the credibility of the Christian doctrines, without the necessity of individual research. Our conscience recognizes the divine work in this revelation, and we believe that the divinity directs all our thoughts and actions, although he has given us a will which appears to us to be free. He has also endowed mankind generally with a spirit of inquiry, which directs them to the ends for which he designs them.”

“Have all men this divine spirit or conscience?”

“Yes.”

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"Then how can there be a difference of opinion in religion? Yet we find as much as we observe with respect to human laws, politics, or taste."

"I have said that men are gifted with a self-will. This leads some to embrace one religion, and others 160 to choose another. Although all men have the divine spirit, all are not placed in the same circumstances; and every difference in temperament, education, and relations, will induce a difference in the mode of thinking of the individual. Hence the multitude of creeds, all, however, having for their ultimate object the worship of one Supreme Being, to whom man feels himself responsible for his actions."

"Why give to man this self-will, if it was, as is too apparent, to pervert him? It must have been known to his Maker what use man was to make of this self-will."

"This question I cannot answer. You might as well ask why the Creator did not place the earth nearer the sun, or assign the Andes a more central position, or make man invulnerable."

"You say your Maker made man with a spirit or conscience as a check upon his thoughts and actions. How is it, then, that man is not guided by this conscience?"

"He is generally; but his self-will too often overpowers his sense of propriety."

"Have you any recollection, when a child, of this spirit working within you?"

"No."

"Who taught you to distinguish right from wrong? Was it not your parents? Did they not teach you to believe in the existence of a Superior Being, whom you were to worship? Did they not lay down to you the rules of right and wrong? Did they not punish any deviation from the former? Did they not 161 first call into exercise your memory? Was not the time of your childhood and youth spent in acquiring a knowledge of men and manners? And will

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not a dog be trained in the same manner to understand your words and actions, though he has not the gift of speech? Are you not now guided in a great measure by the instruction of your youth, circumstances modifying or heightening your inclinations? Does not every day's experience teach us that we are entirely beings of custom? This spirit or conscience of which you talk is merely custom.

"What is it that so often arrests the hand of the murderer? What induces a man on his death bed to reveal the concealed atrocities of his life? Is it custom?"

"Most certainly it is. The man who meditates murder has been taught that it is a heinous crime, punishable by the laws of God and man, and this stops his hand. The same early instruction operates on the mind of the dying individual, and prompts him to disclose his iniquities; and it is the same cause that prevents men from gratifying their evil passions."

Here our conversation ended, and we returned to dinner. I regretted that I had no opportunity of renewing it, although discussions of this kind are generally of little benefit to either party. Various remarks made by the gentlemen at the hotel led me to infer that views similar to those of the young gentleman whose conversation I have here related, were very prevalent among his countrymen.

I left Washington at nine in the evening, in a coach, which took me down to the steamer on the 162 Potomac River. Next morning we landed about ten miles off Fredericksburg, and were conveyed to that town by coach. I went to the Clerk's office to learn the state of affairs of my deceased uncle, Patrick Home, who died near Falmouth in possession of a large tract of land, and some personal property, of which his administrator, a Dr Vass, had rendered no account to my family. Having but an imperfect knowledge of what property he had left, I rode out to Stafford Court House, where the records of the county are kept, and spent a day in searching for information. I saw the will of James Hunter, an uncle of Mr Home's, who died in 1784, whose personal estate exceeded L.30,000, and who had nearly 8000 acres of land, all which had been wasted away in the hands of those who

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had charge of it, and who had all died insolvent. A Mr Ennever informed me that 1200 acres in Tennessee were in the possession of Mr Vass, a son of the administrator, who had seized them on the plea of my uncle's having made him a present of it, which Mr E., however, assured me was not the case. I therefore determined to go to Tennessee to see Mr Vass. Learning also that there was an unredeemed mortgage of L.1000 on the property of a Mr Wheeler in Rappahannock county, I hired a horse, and rode by way of Richard's Ferry, across the Rappahannock River, nearly nine miles up from Fredericksburg. The River Rappahannock is so deep, that horses and waggons are carried over in a scow, impelled by two men with poles. The soil here is very thin and sandy. Six miles beyond the ferry, I called on a 163 Mr Walker, to whom Mr Luccas had given me a letter, to see a gold mine in the neighbourhood, and was very hospitably received. The weather was too cold to inspect the mine. This was the coldest day I had ever experienced, the mercury in the thermometer standing 20° below zero. Resuming my journey, I rode on to Culpeper Court House, thirty-eight miles distant from Fredericksburg, and took up my quarters at Bradford's Hotel. The situation of the village is pleasant; several respectable brick and frame houses are already built; and in a few years it will probably be a considerable town, as the soil of the country around is good, and there are many fine farms in the neighbourhood.

Next morning I rode on my way to Washington in Virginia, a distance of twenty-five miles. The soil in this direction is of inferior quality, and the mountains called the Blue Ridge, although very picturesque, are very barren. When crossing a branch of the Rappahannock, the ice gave way in the middle, when my horse fell over on his side, with my leg below him. The water was about three feet deep, so that little else than his head and part of my body were above. It was not without difficulty that I disengaged myself from him, and succeeded in getting upon the ice, when I turned about the head of my horse, which, to my astonishment, made a sudden spring, leaping nearly ten feet, and alighted on a part of the ice which bore him. Had he tried to get upon the ice around him, it would have given way, and I might have fought for hours before I could have got him out. After

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getting 164 off the ice, which I had hardly done before my clothes were frozen, I mounted with difficulty, and riding quickly, came to a man on the road, who directed me how to get to Washington without crossing the stream, by proceeding over the mountains. A few miles farther on, however, I lost my way, and seeing a farm-house about half a mile from the road, I tied my horse to the railing, and ran to the house, where I found an elderly man and his wife sitting by the fire picking cotton. Perceiving my condition, the man kindly asked me to enter and warm myself, but I told him I was anxious to proceed, and would be obliged to him for directing me. He desired me to get my horse and return, which I did, when he met me at the door, and pressed me earnestly to go in, saying, that before I rode much farther, I should lose the use of my legs. I sat down by the blazing fire, and was presented with some corn bread, pork, and coffee, which greatly revived me. On my asking how much I had to pay, he refused to take any thing, but said I might give something to his Negro for taking charge of my horse, and pressed me to stay all night. Being anxious to proceed, I thanked him cordially, and having received his instructions, spurred on, and crossing several small streams, reached Washington benumbed with cold, and bruised by a second fall. My landlord got me some brandy-toddy, which revived me, and after melting the ice from my boots, I succeeded in getting them off.

Next morning I made inquiry about the property, and learned that it had been sold several times since 165 the mortgage was completed, and was not now worth more than two hundred dollars, the mills and other erections upon it having been burnt down several years ago. I returned by Woodville to Culpeper Court House, and got back to Fredericksburg the following day, having been absent four days, during which the weather was colder than I had ever before experienced. Finding, on consulting a lawyer, that there was no chance of recovering the property, I determined to leave Fredericksburg, where I had been nearly four weeks, and had been shown great attention by several families, particularly by Mr Luccas, Mr Christie and his daughters, and Mr Ennever, whom I found a very agreeable and accomplished gentleman, who lives a retired life, finding his chief amusement in reading. He was originally an Englishman, but had been fifty years

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in the State of Virginia. At the Farmer's Hotel, where I staid, the living was good, and the gentlemen more polite than usual. The landlord, Mr Ramsay, was more attentive to his guests than any I had hitherto met with, waiting at table, and going to each guest to inquire what particular dish he wished. At my departure, therefore, I had much pleasure in cordially thanking him for his politeness and attention. There are several gold mines in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg in operation. Some are said to yield 15 per cent. It was here also that Mr Dickson, whom I have mentioned as on his way to California, had charge of a gold mine that a British Company had purchased, and after constructing several expensive 166 buildings, found the returns would not meet the outlay, and accordingly abandoned the undertaking.

The Earl of Selkirk had been staying a few days at Fredericksburg shortly before my arrival, and I was told the magistrates had invited his lordship to dinner, which he accepted. Before the hour of dinner, there was a discussion amongst them how they were to address the earl, when it was resolved that they should style him Mr Selkirk; and, accordingly, he was so addressed during his residence in Fredericksburg.

In company with two gentlemen of the name of Mitchell, to whom I had been introduced, I left Fredericksburg for Richmond in one of the railway cars. The engine being nearly worn out, and the arrangements otherwise bad, it took us nine hours to traverse a space of sixty miles. We reached our destination at one in the morning, when eight of us tried to get into the Eagle Hotel, but were refused admittance, there being no room for us. After trying two or three others, we at length succeeded. Next day I went with Mr Mitchell to the State House, a plain building, erected several years ago, on an eminence commanding a view of the town and the St James' River. The members of the two houses seemed very homely in their appearance and manners.

From Richmond I proceeded to Petersburg, a distance of twenty-one miles, and from thence to Bakely, about sixty miles. The soil in all this tract is sandy and very poor; but the country is rich 167 in mineral productions, the State abounding in bituminous coal,

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limestone, shale, and marl. Iron ore, copper, lead, antimony, arsenic, barytes, and gold, are found combined with the iron pyrites. At Bakely, where the railway cars stop, there was only one stage coach which carried the mails, and they loaded it so much, that only six could go inside, and those because they had little baggage. I and four others were left behind. One gentleman hired a small cart and drove on. Soon after, however, a stage coach coming up, we persuaded the driver to take us to Halifax, only eleven miles distant, and here we arrived just as the stage was leaving. We were fortunate in getting seats, and proceeded, supping at Enfeld, where we changed stages. Next morning we stopped at Lornsburch for breakfast, and passed on to Raleigh. The day was foggy, and the plants being crusted with hoarfrost, presented a very singular appearance, especially the trees, which were covered with flakes of feathery snow and icicles. About two o'clock we reached Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, a very small town, the houses principally frame. The soil is very poor and sandy, as in Virginia, and the wood, chiefly pine, of very inferior growth. To the east, however, as I was informed, the soil is better, the road being generally taken along the pine ridges, because less likely to spoil there. Some of the gold mines in this State are worked to great advantage. The same sort of land is seen in travelling through South Carolina. At Fayetteville there are many syringa trees, which grow to a very large 168 size, with spreading branches, and having handsome flowers, are highly ornamental.

At Fayetteville, which is a small town, although larger than Raleigh, I remained three days waiting for a part of my luggage, which I discovered had been stolen from the coach. During my stay I heard a great many others inquiring for their luggage, which had similarly disappeared; but we had all to bear our loss, as the articles were not forthcoming. It is a very common practice in the Southern States, and many facilities are given by the coach proprietors to the thieves in their arrangements, such as the frequency of changing coaches at all hours in the night. I was confident my luggage had been extracted at Enfeld, where the passengers were put down at one o'clock A.M. in a keen frosty morning, and, of course, glad to run to the fire; the coach was taken round to the stables, and the luggage

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put into another, and we were hurried away the instant it came to the door. I had seen it all right at supper, eight o'clock P.M., and missed it next morning at breakfast. From this place I proceeded in the stage to Augusta in Georgia, in company with a Mr Saltmarsh, proprietor of the stages between Augusta and Milledgeville, and three or four gentlemen. I had no conversation with any of them, the usual American caution as to intercourse with strangers prevailing. At Campden, where we had supper, a lady came in, who mentioned, in the course of conversation, that she was from Scotland, had been in America for fifteen years, and was going to her husband, a merchant in Montgomery. We passed through Columbia, 169 a small town, the capital of South Carolina. In the course of the night, a gentleman sitting near me began to snore, when Saltmarsh, and a person of the name of Joseph Hodges, who had come from England, and had been engaged to ride the Express, passed several jests on the occasion. Saltmarsh asked if it was the gentleman in the corner, meaning me; Hodges replied in the affirmative, and asked what profession I was of; on which the other said, he supposed I lived by stealing. I was on the point of interrupting their conversation, when I reflected that it would be more prudent to wait until the snoring gentleman awoke, that I might relate to him the observations which I had overheard. Soon after the stage stopped, and we were asked to get out and walk up a hill, in doing which I informed him of what had passed, intimating to him at the same time that I conceived the remarks to have been levelled at me. He said it was no doubt a jest, and asked Saltmarsh if he was not correct. Nothing more was said on the subject. Next day the gentleman who sat between me and the lady left the stage, on which I took his seat for several miles, when we came out to cross a river in a boat. On returning I found my place occupied by Mr Saltmarsh, when I said to him I believed he had taken my seat. He somewhat rudely replied that it was not mine. I told him I understood it to be a rule in travelling by stage, that any one taking possession of a particular seat was entitled to retain it to the end of his journey. He said there was no such rule, and alleged H 170 that I had no right to any one seat more than to another; although, from the commencement of the journey, he had himself kept a particular seat, which he now relinquished only because he preferred being near the lady, and the other passengers had always claimed

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their own seats. I made some remarks on this, when, losing his temper, he said that what I had overheard the preceding night was meant for me, and that he was in earnest. I immediately told him he was “a liar,” naturally expecting a challenge, instead of which, however, he merely became abusive, stormed, and seized me by the collar. Had there not been present a lady, who became quite alarmed and screamed, I should instantly have knocked him down; as it was, I told him I did not wish to fight in that style, but would gladly do so with weapons generally used by gentlemen. He raged the more, and attempted to “gouge” me; but on his thrusting two of his fingers under one of my eyes, I grasped his throat, and held him at arm's length, until two of the passengers came up and separated us. Thinking that because I had not struck him I must be afraid, he now began to use the most abusive language. I told him that, although his appearance had led me to suppose him to be a gentleman, I was satisfied he had no claim to that distinction. He said he would fight me in any way I chose, and had in his trunk a brace of pistols and a hunting knife. Taking him at his word, I suggested that as soon as the coach stopped we should get out and have a shot at each other, to which he agreed. 171 When we stopped, he seemed unwilling to get out, but I reminded him of his engagement, and told him he had insulted me so grossly that I must either have an apology from him, or else a shot; on which he got into a great rage, and swore he would get out his knife and cut me to pieces, as I seemed so fond of fighting. I represented to him his ungentlemanly behaviour, and told him he was an arrant coward. This only seemed to excite his anger the more, but I quietly told him I despised him, and got into the coach. In the course of the day, he remarked to one of the passengers how easy it was to hire an assassin to stab any one, and seemed desirous of frightening me. Afterwards, however, he changed his mood, and at dinner handed me some dishes, as if anxious to make up to me; but I treated his advances with contempt.

We passed through Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, distant from Fayetteville nearly 140 miles, and having changed horses there proceeded on towards Augusta. On the way the coach upset, but no injury was sustained by the passengers, who all got out at the window. As the axle had broken, we had to wait until the horses returned to Columbia

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for another coach. Luckily a party of emigrants, who had encamped in the woods hard by, had a blazing fire, round which we all crowded. Next morning we reached Augusta in Georgia, which is the best town I had seen after leaving Richmond in Virginia. The principal street is a mile in length, the houses of brick and lofty, and a row of Pride-of-China trees on each side. Near the town to the 172 another in the bar-room of St. Nicholas Hotel, not long before an ex-alderman and a Mr. R— insulted each other in the full blast of Astor House. Happening to be a witness to the scene, I could not help addressing the champions in disgust: “Hallo! do not disgrace America in the eyes of foreigners at least.”

Yesterday, the keeper of Delmonico's restaurant in Broadway, was whipped by a man of whom he had the indiscretion to ask money for the meats he took several times without payment, and a person, conversant with the business, told me that occurrences of this kind took place in New York at the average of thirty a-day in various refreshment rooms.

There is a great number of banks, and a voluminous journal, *The Reporter*, noticing the value of their respective bills: That nasty money exposes any one to be treated like swindler. At the presentation of a bank bill they look at *The Reporter* to verify it, and never end when 173 used on the slightest provocation, and that without ally any warning to their opponent, who may be stabbed to the heart or shot dead in an instant without any chance of defence.

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CHAPTER VII. THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Travellers assailed by a Thief.—Montgomery in Alabama.—Passage on the River to Mobile.—New Orleans.—Loose Morals and Insecurity of Life.—Texas, its present condition.—Anecdotes exemplifying the Corrupt State of the Legislature in the Southern States.—Remarks on the Present State of the Americans.—“Liberty and Equality” mere words.—Wandering Propensity of the People.—Character of the Ladies.—Appearance of the Men.

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In the State of Alabama, which we entered next day, the lands are much superior in quality to those of Carolina and Virginia, the soil being generally a deep rich red clay, yielding abundant crops of cotton. The plants stand from six to eight feet high, and the cotton of this State has a finer texture than that of the others.

We stopped at night at a small village called Tuskagee, in the State of Alabama. The tavern was small, and had to accommodate the passengers 175 of two coaches, one from the north, the other from the south, so that in all the beds, except my own, two persons were obliged to sleep. About midnight I was roused by the cries of "robbers," made by two of the passengers in the adjoining room, and bolting out of bed, ran to the place, where I found the landlord and several of his guests, and was told that a thief had succeeded in making his escape by the window, carrying off all the loose money in the pockets of the four individuals who occupied the apartment. In his attempt to extract the money from under one of their pillows, he had awakened its owner, who got up and ran to secure the door, while he leaped out of the window. The rest, on going to it, observed several persons without, who betook themselves to the adjoining wood, whither it was not deemed advisable to follow them. The passengers would not go to bed again, but sat by the fire three hours until the coach Was ready to start.

Montgomery, the first town through which we passed, is built on a rising ground, on the north bank of Alabama River, which is about a mile distant from the principal street. From an eminence above the town there is a good viewer of it, and of the adjacent country, which is bounded by hills. The houses are generally good, and there are several taverns, of which the largest and most commodious is the Montgomery Arms. For a bottle of Scotch ale I was here charged a dollar, the landlord having told me before drawing the cork that I could not have it for less. The river is navigable for 176 steamers drawing three feet of water, as far up as Wetumptka, which is 400 miles distant from Mobile.

Going on board a steamer, I proceeded down the Alabama, which is a very winding river, with the banks sometimes high and abrupt, but generally flat. The oaks growing

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along its course were covered with the misletoe, which has a white flower, and a leaf resembling that of the magnolia, but smaller. Extensive cane brakes were seen in many places. The Alabama joins the Mobile at a little distance from the town of the latter name, which we reached in two days and a half. This town, which is the principal sea-port of the State, is said to contain nearly 20,000 inhabitants. Its streets are regular and good, and the houses of the principal merchants are built with much taste. There are several handsome churches, and a fine new academy. I remained there nearly two days. The all-engrossing topic of conversation was the number of failures amongst the principal merchants in Mobile, twenty-four of whom had recently stopped payment in one or two days. I heard some who were staying at the hotel remarking to each other, that it arose from the circumstance of their having advanced large sums of money to the planters of cotton, and that they had to replace this money by getting accommodation until after the cotton harvest, when the returns from the sale of cotton would supply the deficiency; that the harvest being much later this season than usual, and no cotton having come to hand when their accommodation-bills fell due, they were unable either to uplift them, or get them renewed. This was assigned 177 as the reason of the failures, but it appeared to me to be altogether shallow. It is unlikely, in the first place, that a merchant would advance to a third party his whole ready cash, and leave himself subject to the many contingencies the trade is liable to; besides, secondly, if the merchant obtained a credit on the faith of a security coming to hand, so long as there was a probability of that security coming, it is unlikely his creditor would limit the credit, for his doing so places himself in a worse situation than he would be in were he to await the appearance of the security. There may be other creditors, and his forcing the debtor to stop payment sooner equalizes the division. Judging of the character of the people from observation, I incline to think that the failures arose from no other source than bad speculation, gambling, and extravagance. I proceeded to New Orleans in a steamer, by way of Lake Pentchartrain, between the head of which and the city is a railway five miles in length, which is traversed in fifteen minutes. The ground here is quite a swamp, having much stagnant water upon it, which in hot weather must cause great sickness.

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New Orleans is the great emporium of the Southern States, as New York is of the Eastern. It is divided into the French and American towns, the former being the lower and oldest part. It was originally built by the French, and is the capital of the State of Louisiana, which was also settled by the same people, who afterwards ceded it to the Americans. In the French part the streets are narrow 178 but paved, and there is a handsome square, in which are the Judicial Buildings and the Cathedral. In the American part the streets are much wider, the buildings more spacious and lofty, and their construction different, the entrance to the French houses being by a large door leading into a square court-yard, in the corner of which is a flight of stairs leading to the rooms on the first flat, whereas the Americans enter at once by the common door. The Levy or Quay is a fine range of buildings, extending nearly two miles up the Mississippi, which they have been obliged to embank, to prevent the water from overflowing the town, which is considerably lower than the level of the river. The shipping is very extensive, and there are vast numbers of steamers, by which all the produce of the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, is brought down the river, as is that of Alabama from Mobile and the neighbouring seaports. The huge piles of cotton, mounds of hams, and other provisions, lying on the quay, form a singular sight. There is a constant humming, as of bees, from the merchants, clerks, and masters of vessels, who are running to and fro. Numberless stalls are scattered in all directions, in which are exposed for sale pocket-pistols and knives. This was in a manner confirmatory of What I had been told by a native, that four or five murders took place every day. On the slightest provocation an American shoots or stabs his companion, no matter whether he be his best friend or his worst enemy. 179 He acts on the impulse of the moment, and puts no restraint on his passions. When provoked he gives way to the feeling of revenge, and as all classes go armed, he attacks the object of his hatred without giving him the slightest warning. Should a stranger jostle an American by accident, he runs extreme risk of being shot or stabbed. The only security for life in this cut-throat town, is the belief that every one is armed and ready to use his weapons in an instant. This is a dreadful state of society, and much inferior to that of the darkest times of the feudal ages, when a strong arm alone afforded security,

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for then the hand of the aggressor was in some degree staid by a chivalrous feeling, which finds no place in the breast of the degraded citizen of this morally putrid state. How pusillanimous must be the legislature that gives licence to such a murderous association! An extreme jealousy exists between the Americans and the French, who cohabit very little, the former holding the latter in contempt, on account of their trifling manners, and because they show a want of energy and enterprise in commerce. The French, again, dislike the Americans on account of their coarse manners, and because they consider them as intruders. Notwithstanding all this, the French politeness is imitated by the Americans, who are somewhat more polished than those of the other Southern States. They have a restaurant in their part of the town, with French cooks, &c., and in many particulars adopt the customs of their neighbours, using napkins at dinner, for instance, and drinking with each other. In the 180 large hotels the cooking is French, and they sit longer at their meals than in the north.

There are several fine ranges of buildings in the American part, such as Canal Street and Campt Street. A hotel at present building, to be called the Exchange, is larger than the Astor House in New York. The best hotel is Bishop's; the charges are very high, being three dollars per day, without wine. There is a ball or a masquerade almost every night, and in accordance with all this gaiety, the people here are grosser and more open in their vice than in any other part of the United States. Almost every one, married as well as unmarried, keeps a mistress, on whom he expends large sums of money. It is quite common for a young man to take his mistress to the theatre, and sit with her in the slips the whole evening. During the interlude, almost all the gentlemen leave the boxes, and go to the slips to converse with the girls, though they are seen by their own families. The St Charles Theatre is a very magnificent house, with four tiers of boxes, and is built on the plan of the San Carlos at Naples, though much inferior to it. There is another large house adjoining to it, in the Campt Street. In the French part also there is a theatre, as well as an opera.

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In the Southern States there is less taciturnity amongst the travellers than generally prevails in the Northern, and far less reserve, which, on further acquaintance, would not have been expected, their habits leading to a gratification of their worst passions. One of my fellow-passengers to New Orleans I 181 found well educated, and gentlemanly in his manners and appearance. I saw him frequently during my stay there; he had been ordered by his medical advisers to quit his native State of Virginia, where he held the office of a Judge, on account of his health requiring a milder climate. This gentleman introduced me to Colonel Austin, who was then in the town recruiting for the Texian service. Desirous of seeing that country, and knowing that the best safeguard I could possibly have would be that of the army, I volunteered to join him, provided he gave me a commission; but he assured me it was out of his power, unless I went first to the ranks, which I declined. Texas at this time not only formed the engrossing subject of conversation to the merchants of New Orleans, but also a source of speculation; many had bought from the original settlers large tracts, which they resold at prices varying from half a dollar to two dollars per acre, according to its quality. Soldier's scrip also was readily bought—every soldier in the service being entitled to two or three hundred acres, according to his service, to be allotted by the Government, after their plans were matured. This scrip readily brought half a dollar an acre. I was offered 600 acres at this price by Colonel Austin, which he was selling for the behoof of the Government; indeed, it formed their only security upon which they could raise money, to conduct the war, &c. In Texas there are several tribes of Indians, who lead a wandering life, and bear deadly hatred to the 182 Mexicans, whom, on all occasions, they strive to exterminate. When a party of these Indians come upon a defenceless settler, they invariably burn his house, himself, and family. It is remarked, that they treat the Mexicans with great contempt, the physical energies of the latter being very far inferior to those of the Indians, and it is said by the Americans who have settled there, that one Indian is a match for five Mexicans. On the other hand, an American considers himself a match for five Indians, so that, if any credit may be given to this estimate, he is a match for ten Mexicans. During the last struggle between the province of Texas and Mexico, the latter had the superiority in numbers on all occasions, as well as the advantage of

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regular soldiers. In almost every engagement, the Mexicans were double the number of the Americans, and yet the former were invariably beaten. The Mexicans, in fact, are a dwarfish, puny race, compared with the Americans, with whom alone the contest may be said to have been carried on, the majority of Mexicans settled in Texas having joined their countrymen, and left the Americans to shift for themselves. Had the latter not received the aid of the United States, they must have been overpowered and exterminated; but volunteers from almost every State in the Union flocked to Texas to assist; indeed, many had made speculations there through their agents, and were personally interested; nay, I was told the late President, General Jackson, owned a large tract of land in Texas, and, of course, all his influence 183 was secretly exerted in aid of his countrymen, as well as for his own personal behoof. It was thus that the Mexicans were driven out of Texas; by this means were the Americans able to cope with the former, and ultimately raise themselves up as an independent state, of course, looking forward to admission into the Union, whenever the way was sufficiently paved to allow the abettors of Washington to recognise them. The Americans were afraid of publicly acknowledging and supporting the Texians, until they themselves were in a position, in the eyes of other nations, to do so; but they afforded them secretly their best assistance. They knew that Great Britain, France, and other nations of Europe, were watching this revolutionary movement in Texas with great jealousy. The immediate neighbourhood of the Union to the possessions of these powers rendered it probable, that, at some future period, similar revolutions might be made in their territories. The Americans knew they were a mere handful of men, when pitted against Europe, and should they have involved themselves in a rupture with that Continent, they might have been exterminated. Their insidious policy, however, effected what was their chief object; they raised Texas to an independent position, and although they publicly opposed several attempts of their own members of Congress, to recognise the independence which the Government secretly supported, they at the same time privately giving assurance to the Texians of their ultimate recognition.

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Texas was originally a part of the State of Cohahuila, belonging to the Republic of Mexico. It being waste, a few Americans applied to the legislature of this State for grants of land there. The legislature, desirous of getting it settled, and determined to encourage settlers, gave grants of land to several applicants of respectability and influence, called *Empresarios*, or undertakers, who engaged to settle, or locate on their grants, within a specified time, a certain number of settlers. The Empresario, or undertaker, acquired no right to the soil, but only the powers of an agent of the legislature, to give titles to settlers on condition of occupancy, and the payment of the required fees, the undertaker having for his share five leagues of land for every hundred families settled under his direction, without expense to Government. Before 1835, the head of a family, intending to settle in the country, was entitled to one sitio or league of land, 4428 acres, on paying the cost of surveying and office fees, and the sum claimed by Government, amounting to about 100 dollars. A single man was, in like manner, entitled to a quarter of a league. Six years' residence and improvement of the soil were requisite to acquire a legal title. Latterly, the Government determined to give no more grants, until the terms of the former grants were fulfilled, and also made a regular land law, establishing offices for the sale of all the waste lands in the country. The Texians have made many alterations since their independence; Government lands, as I said before, are now 185 selling at half a dollar per acre, and when they are recognised by the United States, will be raised to a dollar and quarter.

Texas adjoins the State of Louisiana, and is nearly square, with a coast to the Gulf of Mexico, of 350 miles in length. It abounds in rivers, some of which, as the Saline, Neches, and Trinidad, are respectively 350, 300, and 400 miles in length, and navigable to a certain extent, during a part of the year. The River Brayos is considered the best navigable stream in Texas. Vessels drawing six feet of water can navigate it to Brayoria, upwards of 100 miles; steam-boats of light draught to San Felipe de Austin; ninety miles higher it is 200 yards wide. The lands on this river, and on all the streams from thence to Colorado inclusive, are said to be the richest and deepest in Texas, and are considered equal in fertility to any in the world. The Rio del Norte has a course estimated from 1500 to 1700

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miles in length, and is supposed to be navigable for nearly 500 miles. The face of the country is generally level, though there are to the south several chains of mountains and hills abounding in metals; a great portion of the country consists of immense prairies, the soil of which is a rich deep black mould, mixed with sand. The bottom lands on many of the rivers are of a rich red hue, of great depth, and well timbered with cotton wood of immense size, and highly ornamental, besides walnut, cedar, oak, &c. Most of the productions of tropical climates grow in great perfection, and the cotton is equal to the finest produced in the United States, 1866 vieing with that of the South Sea Islands. The other products are sugar, rice, indigo, and all kinds of grain. Cattle are raised in great abundance, and with little trouble, many of the settlers counting their herds by hundreds, and drovers from New Orleans going there for the purpose of buying.

The population is estimated at about 40,000 Americans and 5000 Mexicans. Most of the titles of the present settlers are in the Spanish language; but all the government proceedings now are in English. The Americans I conversed with at New Orleans, who were settled in Texas, represented it, in regard to climate and productions, as a perfect paradise, though many of the inhabitants are nothing else than the outcasts of the United States and Europe. There are a few Scotch and Irish settlers, who I was informed were doing very well. Such is the substance of the information I gathered respecting Texas from a variety of sources, and I have every reason to suppose it correct.

The following occurrences took place while I was in the city. A young man, who had taken a dislike to another, met him in the street one day, pulled out a pocket pistol, and shot him dead on the spot. The murderer made his escape to Havannah, where he now lives in affluence. At a ball, one of the managers questioned a colonel for introducing his mistress as a respectable lady, when a few high words passed between them. They met by chance next morning on the Levy, when the manager, without any warning, fired a pocket pistol at the colonel, whom he saw advancing, on which the latter turned 187 round and fled. The aggressor fired again, but missed; when the colonel, running to a stall, seized a large knife, and with it stabbed his opponent to the heart. He then gave himself

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up to the authorities, assured that he should soon be released. In the hotel two men playing together at backgammon had a dispute on some point, when one of them said he would not give a reason for something he had asserted. The other called him a puppy, on which he drew a cane-sword, and in aiming a thrust at his friend's breast, perforated his hand. The wounded man bolted out of the room like an arrow, when his opponent, having pursued him to the door, returned and sat down as coolly as if nothing had happened. Instances of violence occur so frequently that they are thought very little of. Duelling is also very common, and is generally fatal to one of the parties. The want of an efficient legislature and executive may account in some measure for the state of insubordination of American society. Both departments are paralyzed by the fear of making themselves obnoxious to their constituents, the danger run in consequence, and the terror of Lynch law, which prevails in every state, and authorizes rioters to hang up any one to whom they have a dislike.

There is a strong feeling of rivalry existing between the Southern and Northern States—the Southerners speaking openly in terms of great dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the Northerners in matters of commerce and their internal policy, and more particularly on the question of Slavery. So entirely dependent are the Southerners on their slaves, that they 188 will sooner sacrifice their lives and property than part with them. The present mutual dissatisfaction, if fomented, will, no doubt, ultimately end in a rupture.

The “liberty and equality” so much boasted of in America have no existence there. Their independence and their free institutions, which they hold up as a pattern to Europe, are incapable of bearing the close inspection of a Briton, who, on examining the different parts of the social compact, finds them rotten at the core. Throughout the whole system is diffused a poison, which extends from the offices of the clerks, postmasters, and sheriffs, up to that of the President. Bribery, corruption, and intimidation, are openly practised; every office is an object of sale; and those who have most influence make it a matter of trade. What could be expected from such a state of things, but the grossest dishonesty, immorality, and irreligion? Cheating and fraud are systematized, and pervade all ranks, the

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most wealthy as well as the most abject. It is even a matter of boast that, when a merchant sells an article, he invariably tries to take in the purchaser, either by misrepresenting the quantity or quality of the article, or by putting too high a price upon it. If he succeeds in cheating the buyer, he makes a boast of it among his neighbours, who applaud him for his dexterity, and he is ever after held to be “a smart man,” a phrase which an Englishman translates by that of “a clever rogue.” This practice is so general that it forms a part of their education. An American youth is by his parents or relations early initiated into this system of fraud; he is taught by precept and 189 example to make gain of the veriest trifle; he sees them daily “swapping” their farms, horses, saddles, clothes, and knives. It is not unusual for an American to return home with a saddle which he has obtained in exchange for his coat. A young man brought up in this manner soon becomes an adept, and before he attains manhood is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of gain. Even the children have a sharpness peculiar to this country, and an expression of countenance that conveyed to my mind the idea of dishonesty. The influence of such a custom on society is truly pernicious. It becomes an integral part of their “free institutions.” It is notorious that when a man, actuated by revenge, or any other motive, murders another, he may, if he has many friends, surrender himself to justice, in the confident expectation of being acquitted, or at most of undergoing a slight punishment. The jury who try him, being either his own friends, or the friends of his friends, are bribed to be lenient.

In Connecticut, one of the New England States, boasted of as the most moral and incorrupt in the Union, a boy, whose parents resided in one of the Southern States, was sent to an academy to try to get him reformed, as he had exhibited such vicious propensities, that they were glad to get rid of him. In passing the door one morning, he observed an elderly man sitting on the steps, and accosted him in a rude manner, desiring him to get up and go about his business. The man pleaded that having walked a great distance that morning, he was much fatigued, and begged to be allowed to rest for a little. 190 The boy told him that if he did not go away immediately, he would make him. The poor man argued with him a little, entreating him to let him rest, but in vain, for the lad

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insisted on his removing, and threatened to stab him if he did not. The man, however, kept his seat, on which the boy, deliberately taking his knife from his pocket, opened it, and stabbed him to the heart. The perpetrator of this savage act was taken up, tried, and sentenced to six months' confinement in the penitentiary! He had a packed jury of friends.

In the State of Indiana, a young man having taken a dislike to a schoolmaster, took occasion to horsewhip him. He was sued, and the punishment of a month's imprisonment, or a small fine inflicted. Defendant Robinson declared that he would neither be confined nor pay one sixpence, but would shoot any one who attempted to levy the fine or take him. As he was known to be a desperate fellow, and to carry arms, no constable would undertake to enforce the law. Of this Robinson was well aware, and made it a subject of boasting. The sheriff, by way of making him an example, undertook to apprehend him, and, accordingly, with that view, called at the house of Robinson's father, where he learned that he was at a dance a few miles off. After the sheriff had left, the father, suspecting his intention, despatched an express to his son to inform him what he might expect. On arriving, the sheriff sent for Robinson, who came out. The former advised the latter to surrender, stating that he should only be confined a short time; but the criminal scouted the idea of giving up his liberty, and, on the principle that all men are equal, told the sheriff that if he attempted to lay hands on him, he would shoot him on the spot, and drew out a pistol. The sheriff advancing, the ruffian cocked the pistol and shot him dead. A large sum having been offered for his apprehension, he was pursued and traced to the State of Ohio, where he was discovered sleeping in a cave by four men, who bound him and brought him back prisoner. He was tried by a jury, whom his friends contrived to bribe, so that confinement in the penitentiary for five years was all the punishment inflicted.

These few cases tend to show the nature of American justice. Many others equally glaring might be adduced. Can it be supposed that men, in such a state of things, can be formed into an association, having for its object the general benefit? So long as the murderer is allowed to roam at large, there can be little security for person or property. Why is it that in every nation in the world there is a legislative and an executive function, but to

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keep in check the evil dispositions of man, which in some are so predominant, as to lead them to commit all kinds of depredations on their fellows? It is not for the regulation of the good that societies are formed, but to restrain the bad. The sole object of enacting laws in any government is to regulate and enforce the rights of individuals. Every man knows this to be necessary to enable himself and his family to live in security. When an emigration of individuals to a new country takes place, and the good and the bad settle promiscuously beside each other, the superior management, prosperity, and happiness of the good man, excites the envy of his neighbour, who has the misfortune to allow his evil passions to obtain the ascendancy. He then annoys and molests his neighbour, being desirous of reducing him to his own state. The good man patiently endures him for a time, until the ruffian, emboldened by previous impunity, attacks him in a more injurious manner. This induces the peaceable man to complain to his neighbours, who meet and make some regulations for the general benefit. Others, feeling the same inconvenience, join, and an association is formed with the view of selecting persons to make laws and enforce them. But if these regulations are not enforced, the wicked take advantage of the supineness of the legislative or the executive, and commit depredations or inflict injuries hurtful to society at large, for the influence of example may lead thousands into paths, which, however dangerous they may have seemed, they learn from observation to be safe and profitable. At length the most enormous crimes are committed, and loudly call upon all who have a regard to their own security and that of their neighbours to enforce the laws enacted, and make examples of the flagitious. The process of reform, however, may not always keep pace with that of crime, for there is a predominance of evil in the human mind, and the good that is there requires to be diligently fostered.

It is thus that the United States have sprung up. Emigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, and various parts in Europe, settled on the shores of America, which for several centuries afforded a refuge to the outcasts of the civilized world, and, in fact, were, until within the last few years, the receptacle of murderers, robbers, thieves, vagabonds, bankrupts, forgers, and all sorts of delinquents. At length the legislature, convinced by experience

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that the outcasts of civilized society lost none of their propensities on being admitted into "the land of liberty and equality," where, on the contrary, they found an ample field in which to display their qualities, have yielded to the repeated wishes of the countries whence these emigrants fled to surrender them up to be tried by the laws which they had broken. But this did not happen until they found it impossible to manage them in the States, and until numerous crimes of the first magnitude had been committed by them, from the consequences of which there was a ready escape by retiring to a new state or territory, where they could remain in perfect security until their crimes were forgotten. This admission of criminals of every description is the cause of the shyness towards strangers evinced at every public table, and in every State. A new face is regarded with suspicion, for it may be that of a thief or a murderer escaped from the Old World. They are slow to meet the advances of strangers, for experience has taught them that the refuse of Europe make dangerous neighbours and bad citizens.

Some of the most populous States have found it necessary to enforce their laws more rigidly, so that in them security of person and property may be more relied on. But many cases still occur of criminals evading the laws by bribery and other means. Recourse has been had to the inculcating of religion upon the young; but the numberless differences of opinion on this subject, the constant wranglings between the professors of different creeds, and the many, abuses observable by an attentive inquirer, tend to neutralize the effect of this teaching. There are certainly many who lead exemplary lives, but it is not to be supposed, especially in the newer States, where there are numberless families who scarcely know what a church is, that religion can have much influence upon the conduct of those who continually see it disregarded by many and practised only by few. Were the principles of religion instilled into the mind of a youth, and its practice exemplified in the conduct of his teacher, its influence would probably operate powerfully upon his mind under all circumstances of his future life. But it cannot be expected that a mind trained up to vice and immorality, and taught to contemn religion, should be influenced by precepts which are heard two or three times from the pulpit. The youth has been taught to make a

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mock of it, and the man knows from observation, that many who profess it act precisely like himself. The effect of this powerful agent will not be much felt for years to come, and it will be reserved to another generation to adopt a spirit of pure religion.

Nature teaches us that her works, so far as they are understood by us, are in a state of fluctuation, or of alternate rest and agitation. Man himself has 195 been made on the same model. Look at the atmosphere which he breathes. One day it is in a state of perfect quietude, next day in a state of fearful commotion; and the furious winds which traverse it are perhaps the necessary consequences of its previous quiet, and the means of preserving it in a state of purity. It is an axiom that nature is in a state of vicissitude, and man is but a part of nature.

Let not American institutions be any longer boasted of as a pattern to European nations. They are more corrupt than any in Great Britain. As to the “liberty and equality” that we hear so much of, they are mere words. Much more pride and hauteur are observed by a rich American towards his menials and dependents, than by a rich Englishman. In America, as much respect is paid to the possessor of riches as in Europe. The Americans ape the Europeans in their manners and fashions; but they take a pride in ridiculing them, because they are jealous of them, and because the few respectable persons who have ventured among them have held up their character to ridicule. They boast of their riches, but what is the wealth of any equal portion of the United States, compared to that of Britain? It is certain, however, that many more well-dressed persons are seen travelling there than in Europe. An American is accustomed to travel from early youth. If his parent is an agriculturist, he is constantly changing his farm. As soon as he tires of one, he packs up his moveables and family in a covered waggon, and travels for days or weeks to a new farm. Indeed, the habits 196 of the Americans assimilate much to those of the gypsies in Europe. Towards the South, the roads are crowded with waggons; and at night a large fire is kindled in the woods, beside which the men stay, while the women and children are accommodated with a tent. Brought up in this way, it is not to be wondered at that the children should acquire a taste for travelling, which they continue to indulge

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to an advanced age. I have seen women of eighty years of age travelling upwards of an hundred and fifty miles, merely to see their relatives. This constant wandering facilitates the business of the merchant, who must follow the tide of emigration; and so soon as his son has left school, he is despatched to the different States, to learn what openings there may be for forming connexions, and commencing business. It is the custom for a merchant travelling on business to take his wife and family with him. His connexions in trade calling him from home so frequently, he would otherwise see little of them. A stranger is surprised to see so many ladies, as well as gentlemen, travelling. Every steamer in the States is crowded with individuals of both sexes; the coaches are equally occupied; and one at first wonders where all the people can be travelling to; he conjectures that there must be some public meeting, or fair, or market, and he is puzzled when he learns that there is nothing of the kind.

It is seldom that a stranger can enter into conversation with the ladies, though he meets them at meals, for they range themselves all on one side at 197 the head of the table, and seldom remain longer than ten minutes. They generally eat a great deal of sweetmeats, which I have little doubt affect their complexions, as they weaken the stomach, and by thus debilitating the system, impart the pale hue generally observed in the faces of the American ladies. I have been told that they are much addicted to eating opium, and drinking laudanum; and this, if true, would, of itself, account for their pallid looks. They are notorious for staring, especially at strangers; and have a striking boldness, with a masculine air and address, peculiar to themselves. Their language, too, in so far as I observed, is inelegant, and they employ inappropriate words, such as, "what a *clever* bonnet this is," meaning pretty; and, "how *handsomely* I did that," meaning cleverly. In short, the American ladies, tolerable as to personal appearance, are far behind the European in manners.

The men are generally tall and thin, especially the rustics, who, however, are muscular, although of spare habit. In the towns they are stouter, that is, have more fat, and many of them handsome, but almost all are remarkable for an expression of keenness and

cunning, very manifest in their eyes and features. They seem generally healthy, although in the South there is little of the florid complexion which indicates the glow of robust vigour. As to the morals of the people of all parts of the United States, I can only say that they exhibit a lamentable inferiority to those of the original settlers.

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CHAPTER VIII. ISLAND OF CUBA.

Passage from New Orleans to Cuba.—Havannah, Hotels, Depravity of the Inhabitants.—Improvements of the present Governor.—Passage to St Jago.—Visit to the Copper Mines at Cobre.—Observations on the Slave Trade.—Perversion of Justice in Cuba.—Character of the Country.—Sugar and Coffee chiefly cultivated.—Importance of this Island to the British.

Having remained eight days at New Orleans, I embarked, about the middle of February, in an American schooner, for Havannah. There were twenty-two cabin passengers, of whom three were ladies; the fare forty dollars. After being towed down to the mouth of the Mississippi, with other four vessels, by a steamer, a distance of 170 miles, we set sail, when a smart breeze getting up, all the passengers, excepting myself and another, retired to their berths sick, and remained so nearly all the time we were on board. In two days we crossed the Gulf of Mexico, but were driven as far south as Cape Antonio, the most southerly point of the 199 Island of Cuba, and had to beat up to Havannah, where we arrived at the end of three days. This celebrated place is remarkable for its natural beauties. On an eminence nearly an hundred feet high, with an almost perpendicular front, is a castle, strongly fortified, and facing the harbour, which has so narrow an entrance as to permit only one vessel to enter at a time, and is completely protected by the guns of the fort, which extend nearly a quarter of a mile along its side. Opposite to this fort is another, nearly on a level with the water, and from which, on the south side, the town stretches along the harbour, which is nearly a mile in length, and gradually enlarges, so as to form at its upper part a large basin, in which an hundred vessels may ride at

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anchor in perfect security, the water being deep, and complete shelter being afforded by the rising ground all round. The town stretches away from the harbour to some distance; its streets are narrow, parallel, and intersecting; and almost all the houses are of two stories, and castellated, so as greatly to add to the effect of the scenery. On our coming to anchor in the harbour, a sentinel was sent on board, and we were told that none were permitted to land without the Governor's permission, which could be obtained only through the application of a friend, who must be answerable for all debts which the stranger may contract during his stay. As this was a most serious engagement, and as I had no letters of introduction for Havannah, I was much puzzled what to do, until a German, from Hamburg, with whom I had occasionally conversed in the course 200 of our voyage, advised me to apply to Mr Tolme, the British Consul. Accordingly, having given half a dollar to the sentry, and assured him that I should return in a few hours, I went ashore with Mr Grossla, who was kind enough to take me to the house of the Consul, and apply to the clerk for a permit, which I was informed would be ready at three o'clock. Finding a hotel in Obia Pia, I entered by a large door leading into a court-yard, where a flight of steps conducted to a corridor running along two sides of the square which composed the building. This corridor had a marble floor, with couches and easy-chairs placed in all directions, a small marble table with newspapers, and a silver fire-stand for lighting cigars. The eating-room was oblong, of great length, and handsomely furnished; and the bed-rooms were large and airy. Indeed, it resembled a French Hotel, more than any that I had seen since I had left France. The house had originally belonged to one of the Spanish nobility, and had only recently been let out as a hotel to an American lady of the name of Lamartinier, the widow of a French merchant. This woman had been a milliner at New York, where she had led an irregular life, and whence she accompanied to Mexico an amorous Spaniard, of whom she soon got tired. She then went to Havannah, where she captivated the Frenchman, who married her. Her husband dying soon after, she lived some time as housekeeper with a Mr Gordon, and, on his withdrawing from the island, rented the hotel, which is by far the best in the town, the others being old and incommodious. 201 Being rather a comely woman, she has still some admirers, who run

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after her. All the other boarding-houses in Havannah are kept by American women, who have led the same irregular life. Indeed, so loose is the female society of Cuba, that a *faux pas* is looked upon as a matter of course. The Spanish women, especially, are remarkable for their "liberal sentiments" in this respect. It is seldom that they obtain a good education, their morals are early corrupted, and so infamous are the dispositions of their parents, that, even though in a respectable situation in life, they sell their daughters to those who give most for them. In such a state of society, they naturally fall into the extreme of depravity, so that incest is of common occurrence.

The ladies are of small stature, generally very ordinary in their appearance, having sallow complexions, although their features are tolerably regular. They have a practice of sitting in their hall after sunset, with the door open, so that they may be seen by the passers by, and either smoke cigars, or play on the guitar or piano.

The English and American residents have little intercourse with the Spaniards, their tastes being dissimilar. It is customary with the latter to meet of an evening at each other's houses, and converse, generally on the most trifling subjects, so that an Englishman is apt to be disgusted with their frivolity. The natives are for the most part under middle size. The ladies never wear bonnets, and seldom walk, but use what is called a *volante*, which is very similar to our phaeton, with a hood to protect them from the sun. The wheels are of vast size, standing nearly six feet high, and are so made to prevent the vehicle from being overturned in the streets, which, until very lately, were muddy and full of ruts. The horses, of which two are frequently used, though sometimes only one, are small, with long tails, which are tied up to the saddle, on the right side. A slave, in livery, with chasseur boots or legs and shoes, and ponderous gilt spurs, with silk stockings, rides on one of the horses, which he keeps running at a rapid rate.

Under the present governor, Tacon, the streets have been macadamized, and great improvements have been made. Security and tranquillity, which previously had no place here, now prevail. Havannah, until his time, was in fact a nest of murderers, insomuch

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that even by day none could walk the streets in security, while at night it was considered madness to venture abroad. Bands sometimes assembled and attacked the houses of the wealthy, whose only security consisted in their retaining a force sufficient to resist the aggressors. The governor being accessible to bribery, those who sought his protection had to pay in proportion to the means of their opponents. It was a common practice for the rich to hire assassins to despatch their enemies. If called to account, they had only to send the governor a sum proportioned to the means of the relatives of the murdered person, and the murderer evaded the officers of police by retreating to a church. Even if the door was locked, if he could get his finger into the key-hole, he was considered within the limits of 203 the sanctuary, and entitled to protection, so that he had time to make his peace with the authorities. This protecting of criminals, and the notorious venality of the priests, have lowered their dignity, and deprived them of the respect formerly paid to them. They are besides so notorious for their amorous propensities, for which their gown gives them the greatest facilities, that they are now ridiculed and abused even by their congregations. The present governor is a man of a very different disposition from his predecessor. By his admirable police regulations, and able government, he has succeeded in establishing peace and safety, by putting down the hordes of assassins, and demolishing the gambling-houses to which they resorted. His regulations against gambling are severe, certain games being prohibited under a heavy penalty, and all contravening most rigorously punished. His improvements in the town and neighbourhood do him much credit. He has erected a fountain on one side of the square in which his palace stands, and in the centre a handsome jet-d'eau, close to the statue of King Ferdinand, where there are also some beautiful evergreen shrubs. Of an evening, a regimental band assembles in this place, and crowds of ladies and gentlemen come to hear the music, and see each other. About three miles to the south of the town, he has built a small villa, which is open to the public on Sundays, and to which he then generally drives. Around it are several acres laid out in parterres, in which are cultivated the most splendid flowers. This promenad is crowded, and on the day on which I visited it, 204 there were upwards of an hundred volantes driving in a circle, all the ladies without bonnets. Above the villa is a fortified

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castle, on an abrupt eminence, commanding an extensive prospect of the town and the surrounding hills. The numerous cocoa and palm trees give the landscape a singularly beautiful appearance, such as cannot fail to afford delight to a person not previously familiar with the features of tropical vegetation.

After remaining five days at Cuba, I obtained a passport for Santiago de Cuba, for which I embarked in a schooner. All the Spanish vessels have supercargoes, who transact the whole business, receive freights and passage-money, provide victuals, and superintend the cooks. This takes a great deal of trouble from the captain, who is left to devote his whole attention to his ship and crew. It is surprising that our merchantmen are not generally furnished with such an officer, who would prove of the greatest benefit to all parties concerned. Our schooner was small, and the cabin so diminutive, that it was not without great inconvenience the fifteen passengers were crowded into it, some sitting on the lockers, and others on the floor. Our victuals, however, were well cooked, and regularly served. We rose at six and had a cup of coffee; and at nine took breakfast, at which were generally six or seven dishes. The cloth, greasy and stained with wine, was laid on the top of the companion, and we sat on stools and lockers. First, a dish of salt fish cooked in oil, with garlic and other vegetables, was handed round; then came one of beef, 205 which was cut into small pieces by the captain; then cabbages and yams; after this a dish of kid or veal; then broiled chicken; then a box of sardines; and afterwards cheese, fruit, and sometimes Guava jelly. A bottle of Catalan wine was allowed to two. Dinner was served up at four, and was composed of similar materials differently cooked. Almost every dish had garlic, even the fried eggs and bananas. It is sometimes pounded in a mortar in the raw state, and used as butter, which it so much resembles, that one of the passengers, a Mr Ritchie, the only one besides myself on board who spoke English, passed it to me as such. The wind being unfavourable, we had much difficulty in weathering Cape Maysi, the most easterly point of the island, and our passage occupied thirteen days. The tediousness of the voyage was in some measure counterbalanced by the agreeable conversation of Mr

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Ritchie, who related several anecdotes of the Spaniards and Indians in Columbia, through the greater part of which republic he had travelled.

We at length, to our great joy, approached the Moro or Castle, which defends the narrow passage to the harbour of Santiago, or St Jago, and which is situated on an eminence, the abutments being cut out of the limestone rock. The basin of the harbour, on one side of which is the town, is six miles distant from the Moro, and surrounded with high hills, beautifully undulated, and covered here and there with trees. The houses, which are of one story, with verandahs, and barred windows, are built in regular 206 lines along the declivity, so that, viewed from the harbour, one street or tier seems to rest on the top of another. There is a large cathedral in the square, in which is the governor's house. That occupied by Mr Hardie, the British Consul, seemed to be the best, and overlooks all the others.

The town had been the scene of much confusion about two months previous to the time of my visit, when the late governor, General Lorenzo, proclaimed the constitution of 1812, without the sanction of the Captain-General, Tacon, under whose government the whole island is placed. This measure had been adopted in Spain some time before, but no authority for its promulgation in the colonies had been issued. Lorenzo, who had been at Cobre, about twelve miles distant, dining with Hardie, when he received the intelligence, proclaimed it on his return, but was not sufficiently supported by the other authorities. When Hardie returned, he negatived it, and called upon an English frigate to support him in case of need. Lorenzo, finding that he had acted precipitately, withdrew on board the frigate, and affairs returned to their original state. When news of this attempt reached Tacon, he denounced those who had engaged in it, sent troops to keep them in subjection, and appointed another governor *ad interim*, until he should receive instructions from the Court of Spain. Lorenzo's having dined with Hardie that day, led them to suspect that the latter was accessory to the affair; and accordingly Tacon complained to Tolme, the 207

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Consul at Havannah; on which an investigation took place, when Hardie succeeded in clearing himself to the satisfaction of the governor.

It is difficult to get good accommodation in Santiago, there being few taverns there. Ritchie and I were fortunate in obtaining the only two bedrooms in the Hotel d'Europe, kept by a Frenchman, who gave us excellent breakfasts and dinners, with a bottle of good claret at each, and coffee in the morning and evening, for four dollars a day. Mr. Ritchie, being connected with an English Company, who had several copper mines at Cobre, called upon Mr Oddie, the manager, and begged of him to get horses for us, that we might go to see them. We had to wait three days, however, and when the horses at length came, they reminded us of the celebrated Rosinante of the renowned knight of La Mancha.

Starting at eight in the morning, we rode out toward the west, by a road overhung with beautiful evergreens, palms, and large cotton trees, which afforded a most grateful shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. One ridge of hills succeeded another the whole way. A few farm-houses occurred, around which were plantations of coffee, bananas, plantains, and abundance of orange trees. The houses are built of wood, plastered with lime, and thatched with broad leaves, which are found in profusion in the thickets. The hills are composed of a dark-grey limestone, of a close texture, and very hard; the soil, in some parts, a mixture of red clay and sand. The road to Cobre is good, though 208 hilly. The village contains from two to three hundred inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in mining, together with about four hundred slaves. There are two English companies, and several mines are worked by Spaniards. Mr Hardie, the manager of one of the English mines, has upwards of four hundred slaves, which he purchased from the slave traders, and about an hundred Cornish miners. The other company have only recently commenced their operations, but have got into several rich veins, which are said to yield between thirty and forty per cent. of copper. The company of which Mr Oddie is the manager have dug out six or seven mines, which they work by hired slaves, and a few Cornish men, with three captains, from Cornwall. They pay ten dollars a month for the hired slaves, and give

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the men from England twelve, besides paying their expenses out. Provisions, however, are so dear, that the men can hardly support themselves.

Here, as in all other parts of Cuba, the slave trade is carried on to a great extent. Upwards of 3000 slaves from Africa were landed at Havannah in the months of January and February. The aptitude these people have for acquiring the language of the country is very surprising; by the end of a few weeks they are generally able to make themselves understood. They are publicly sold in a market appropriated to that purpose, and although the trade is prohibited at Havannah, yet, by bribing the authorities, it is easy to evade the laws. An able-bodied Negro brings about 400 dollars; but may be purchased directly from the slaver for a sum 209 varying from 200 to 300. Great numbers are purchased by the Americans, and smuggled over to Texas, the authorities being as usual bribed, and through that country numbers are carried to the Southern and Western States, where they fetch from 1200 to 1400 dollars a-head. The slavers are fast-sailing vessels, and generally outstrip the English cruizers. Should they get within sight of the ports of Cuba, at which a few Spanish men-of-war are stationed, in the event of a chase from a cruizer, and probable capture, the Spanish ships pounce upon them, and thus rescue them from their pursuers. The slaves are hired out for seven years at a time, and when this period is completed, are continued for a similar time, so that this hiring is tantamount to their being sold. They are severely flogged for the most trivial fault, and if their drivers happen to be humane, they are sent to a man under the government, who does not spare the lash. On the road out to Cobre, I observed, at a short distance from St Jago, posts on which were hung skulls, arms, legs, and other parts of the Negroes, who had been executed for crime.

Mr Oddie, a very intelligent and gentlemanly person, gave me an account of several law-suits which he had with individuals competing for mines. The land around Cobre belongs partly to the government, and partly to the community of Cobre. Whatever has been under cultivation may be claimed by any one resident in Cuba, who has been in use to till it; and the mode of obtaining a mine is to institute a process called "denouncing," which is an application to the government, stating that the applicant is desirous of working a mine

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in such a place. The authorities ordain a measurement of the quantity of land which the applicant requires, and upon the surveyor's report being given in, permission is granted to work the mine as long as the applicant pleases. But a company, or an individual, can, by the laws of Spain, hold only two mines, so that it is policy to ask as much ground as possible, and this is marked off, as it is open to any one to denounce alongside of you, and thus cut off the vein. The expense rarely exceeds 200 dollars, and the hire of a slave is ten dollars per month.

The greater part of Cuba is hilly, though in various places there are table lands, which are very fertile. Tobacco is not so much cultivated now as formerly, the planters bestowing their chief attention on the sugar-cane and coffee-plant, which they find more profitable. It is a practice with the Americans to smuggle tobacco into Havannah, get it made into cigars having an external layer of Cuba leaf, and then distribute them among the states as genuine Havannah cigars. The schooner in which I came to Cuba was laden with American tobacco for this purpose. Though a duty is laid on imported tobacco, yet smuggling is so easily managed, that any one with a little prudence may easily manage by bribing the officers, who are all corruptible.

Mr Oddie mentioned, that in the several lawsuits he had with his competitors as to the boundaries of their mines. it was his custom invariably to bribe the judge to pronounce a decision in his favour. He went and stipulated expressly that his opponent should be nonsuited, paying the judge a certain sum, for which he took a receipt. Should his opponent offer more, intimation was given that something additional was expected. At one time, after paying a sum of money for a judgment, he was apprised by the judge that his opponent having offered a larger sum, a pianoforte of the value of nearly 300 dollars would be accepted. He was therefore obliged to comply with the demand. Even in the higher courts, this course is necessary for obtaining success, so that the rich alone have any chance of succeeding at law, and can easily ruin their poorer neighbours.

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The Spaniards of Cuba are dwarfish, cowardly, treacherous, and fond of show. At a masquerade ball at Havannah, a marquis wore on his jacket buttons valued at 100,000 dollars. The planters are generally wealthy. This season they kept their sugars in store at Havannah, and would not sell to the merchants, because the prices offered were inferior to what they expected in the course of a few years. Vast quantities of coffee and sugar will be raised in the island, the soil and climate of which are well adapted to both plants. Cuba would in many respects be a most important acquisition to Great Britain. It commands the Gulf of Mexico, and is only three or four days' sail from New Orleans. It has always been the resort of the pirates of the West Indies, there being on its coasts numberless creeks, unapproachable by vessels drawing more than five feet of water, in which they can 212 shelter themselves so completely, as to defy their pursuers, and should small boats attempt an entrance, they frequently succeed in destroying them. One of our frigates once sent a boat's crew under a lieutenant in search of a piratical vessel that had run into one of the creeks, when the pirates contrived to conceal their schooner, went on shore, and, while the boat was farther up, looking for them, threw into the creek a number of logs, and lay in wait among the bushes. While the boat, on returning from its fruitless search, was detained by the logs, the pirates, having an opportunity of taking deliberate aim, killed or wounded every man in it. Our command of Cuba would also materially assist in putting an end to slavery in this quarter, it being the chief emporium of that nefarious traffic. It appears an extraordinary infatuation that the pursuit of gain should so far predominate with man as to induce him to sell his fellow-creature, assuming to himself a right over him as he would over an ox or a sheep. The system cannot be too speedily suppressed, and all civilized nations ought to strain every nerve in putting an end to it. It is horrible to contemplate the sufferings of these wretched beings. Kidnapped by their own people in the employment of the slavers, they are torn from their families and home, fettered, and put on board a small schooner, seven or eight hundred, sometimes so many as a thousand, being crowded in the low, dark, and unventilated hold, where they cannot so much as move their limbs. From this dungeon they are for a time let out to breathe the free air, but should a vessel 213 come in sight they are again thrust down. Should a fast-sailing cutter

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appear, and give chase, and there seems a probability of their being overtaken, they often throw the slaves overboard. After landing in Cuba, many of the poor creatures, reduced to despair, and indignant at the infliction of injuries which they cannot redress, destroy themselves. Those who survive are immediately constrained to labour, and, although totally unaccustomed to hard work, are compelled, by the dread of the lash, to exert themselves like those who have been in bondage for years. Under these circumstances many die, as was the case with the gang purchased by Mr Hardie, of whom upwards of an hundred fell victims to ill treatment. Instead of being gradually inured to labour, as much work was required of them as of the rest, and the natural consequence was as related. Slavery has so long been tolerated, and we are so familiarized with its name, and even character, that the contemplation of it does not arouse our feelings of indignation to half the pitch necessary for the suppression of this monstrous abomination.

The revenues of Cuba at present suffice for its expenditure, which is great, as a force of 10,000 men is kept up, and yields a surplus to Spain of between 600,000 and 100,000 dollars. This sum might be doubled under judicious management, and the island would thus in a few years materially lessen any advances our government has made to Spain. Our ministry ought to press the arrangement contemplated in assigning it to us in security 214 for these advances. No doubt, such an arrangement would be strongly opposed by the natives as well as by the Americans, who have an eye on Cuba, as it would give them the command of the West Indies. The natives are already very jealous of the British, and have openly expressed their disapprobation of their interference in the late affair of Lorenzo's. In the event of Spain's yielding up the government, an insurrection would probably take place, as they are aware that the malpractices winked at by their own authorities would never be tolerated by us. A very small force, however, would suffice to keep them in subjection. Though the population exceeds 400,000, it would not require more than 5000 British troops to maintain the superiority.

There are only two or three British merchants resident in St Jago. Mr Hardie, the Consul, is connected with an English House, which certainly ought not to be the case. It is injudicious

in our government to select for that office any man engaged in trade, as it gives him a superiority over his competitors, which he will not often scruple to use to his own advantage and their detriment. The appointment of mercantile men as Consuls is only a recent measure, which it is hoped the examples of abuse that have occurred in various quarters will induce the government to discontinue.

Before a stranger can leave Cuba, he must advertise three successive days his intention, declaring at the same time that he has no debts. I was accordingly obliged to issue the following manifesto:—"Mr Santiago Logan, natural de Inglaterra, sale y declara que nada deve." On satisfying the governor's secretary that this had been done, and paying four dollars for a passport, I was allowed to decamp.

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CHAPTER IX. JAMAICA.

Passage to Jamaica.—A Shark caught.—St Domingo.—Port Royal.—Kingston.—Spanish Town.—Excursion to Roxburgh Castle in the interior.—General account of the Island, management of Estates, cultivation of Coffee, Character of the Negroes.—Abolition Act.—The late Governor.—Return to Kingston; visit several Establishments there; Remarks on Improvements.—Voyage along the Coast to Black River.—Pirates.—Passage to England.

Leaving Havannah in a Spanish schooner bound for Kingston, and having several passengers on board, I had an opportunity of seeing some of the wonders of the tropical seas, with which the narratives of voyagers have made us in a measure familiar from infancy. The first object of interest that occurred was a shark, which we hooked, but which the captain would not allow to be taken on board, lest it should inflict injury on some of the men. They therefore lashed it to the side of the vessel, and hacked at it with an axe. Supposing it to be dead, they then let it slip into the water, when it swam slowly away, as if nothing had happened to it. 217 Vast multitudes of flying-fishes and nautili swarmed around us. The latter animals are of an oval form, with a fin similar to a sail, and as they

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swim on the surface of the water, exhibit a variety of colours, some of them being of a beautiful pink.

On our coming in sight of St Domingo, a gentleman, a Mr P., on board the schooner, who had been resident some time there engaged in mercantile pursuits, gave me the following account of it:—This island, now the centre towards which all the eyes of Europe are turned, as developing the working of a republic of black population, has not come up to the expectations of the speculator on the system of precipitate emancipation. The Negroes of St Domingo or Hayti, about forty years ago, expelled their masters, the French and Spaniards, from the island, and after several leaders had ruled different divisions, and been successively put down, one of them, Christophe, a Negro from an English island, and who had been a servant in the town of Cape Hayti, governed for several years the northern division of the island, of which Cape Hayti is the capital.

Another of them, Petion, an intelligent coloured man, had the address to establish a republic, of which he was made president, and finding himself secure in the support of a considerable portion of the inhabitants, resolved to expel his competitor, Christophe, with the view of establishing his power over the whole island. After several engagements had taken place between them, in which Christophe had the worst, that chief was latterly reduced to such straits K 218 as to prefer committing suicide in his palace of Sans Souci, near Cape Hayti, to falling into the hands of his enemy. On his death his subjects submitted, since which the whole island has been under one government, with its seat of legislature at Port-au-Prince, composed of a president, now Boyer, the successor of Petion, a senate, and a house of representatives. In reality, here the term president signifies absolute monarch, for his power is nearly equal to that of the first despots; indeed, many of his measures are very arbitrary, but certainly called for to meet the contingencies the subjects of this island are liable to. The well-known indolence, consequent destitution and crime, forming the general character of the Negro, compel the ruler to take most despotic steps to enforce his power for their interests. Let the advocates of immediate abolition go to St Domingo, and they will there be speedily cured of their

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mania. At one time the most productive island in the West Indies, it is now amongst the least, though the population is considerably increased. No reasonable man sends his coat to the carpenter to be mended; he knows that a carpenter is not a tailor, his trade is quite distinct; before the carpenter can profess the trade of a tailor, he must serve an apprenticeship to the latter, that he may be fitted for the trade, Again, boys and girls are not fitted for the work of, men and women, they require experience and practice; and is not the Negro's an analogous case? Unmercifully torn from his home and friends, treated like a dog, generally compelled to a labour he never before heard of, to adopt customs and views totally foreign to his nature, is it to be supposed that he works willingly, or that he has any desire to learn? It can only be time that will modify his mind and practice, and bend him to his situation, and, combined with other causes, may ultimately stimulate him to exertion for himself. To set him free at once, is analogous to opening the door of a prison to let loose the hundred criminals, who, as experience has shown us, generally return to their old habits. Here lie the difficulties even the rulers of this republic have to contend with; and what have the other islands not to contend with?

St Domingo is, in point of size, next to Cuba, and is very mountainous. The plains are fertile, and have yielded abundant crops of sugar, coffee, rice, tobacco, &c. The northern parts of the island are most healthy, being exposed to more regular sea breezes from the Atlantic, which in winter are sometimes so cold as to render a fire necessary. The principal produce of the island for exportation is coffee, cotton, tobacco, and cigars, to which may be added mahogany and logwood. Rice, which, in the time of the French, formed one of the principal articles of export, is now largely imported for the use of the inhabitants, and in 1836 very considerable quantities of East India rice were even imported from Liverpool. Although at one time as much sugar was made here as on all the other West India islands together, now barely sufficient for their own use is raised. The imports consist principally of British, German, and French linens, 220 cottons, cloth, silk, and hardware and cutlery, with American flour, salt fish, and lumber.

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The population is supposed to be about 700,000, seven-tenths of whom are entirely black. The French language is used in all the legislative proceedings, though Spanish is the prevalent language in that part of the island formerly called Hispaniola.

Port-au-Prince is said to be the most populous town in the island, having nearly 22,000 inhabitants, and at which a great proportion of the foreign trade of the island is carried on. Here the President Boyer resides. The town has a pretty appearance from the harbour, but is very irregularly built, the houses of wood principally, though some of the merchants have both stores and houses of brick. These materials are better suited to the climate, there being less expense and danger to be apprehended from earthquakes, shocks of which are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes very injurious to property. The town is situated in the beautiful bay of the same name on the west side of the island.

The second town is that of Cape Hayti, formerly called the City of Henry, and by the French Old Cape François. The population is said to be 12,000. It is situated to the north of the island, and is much more regular and better built than the capital. The houses are almost all of stone, and it contains some squares, which, in the time of the French, must have been very handsome, and an elegant church; but these are now all going to ruin on account of the indolence of the inhabitants. The air is cooler here than on the south and west sides of the island, there being, from its northern situation, a regular sea breeze, and earthquakes are less frequent, but it is more exposed to hurricanes. Its principal trade is in exporting coffee, tobacco, cigars, and some mahogany. There are other towns in the island, and that of St Jago, with a population of several thousands, is worthy of notice, as differing from the rest. It is in the interior of the Spanish part of the island, and has a salubrious and agreeable climate, being situated at a considerable elevation above the level of the sea. Its inhabitants differ from the others, in the greater proportion being of fair complexions. Very pure Castilian is spoken by the upper classes. Its nearest sea-port is Porto-Plate, where its produce, principally tobacco, is shipped. This part of the island experienced, in a very slight degree, the horrors of the revolution, having then declared

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for the Columbian government; afterwards they succumbed to the Republic. It is not so populous as the French part, or west end of the island. Its exports are tobacco, mahogany, and logwood. In the Bay of Samana gold is found, being brought down by the rivers from the mountains. The President prohibits searching for the precious metals as fostering indolence.

A standing army of nearly 20,000 is kept in addition to the national guard, said to number upwards of 40,000. The President generally reviews a part of the troops once a week. Their arrangements, both military and civil, are based on the French 222 Code of Napoleon, which they have adapted to their wants. Their manners and customs are also very similar to the French.

With a cloudless sky, a blazing sun, and a moderate breeze, we scudded gently along, and in three days arrived at Port-Royal in Jamaica. The sea here is so shallow, as to form a bar abreast of the harbour, on which shrubs are now growing. The fortifications are built at the end of a long narrow neck of land encircling the harbour, and running so near the land on the opposite side, as to render the entrance very narrow. We were boarded by a medical gentleman and a custom-house officer, who examined us and took down our names. The distance from the entrance to Kingston is six miles, the harbour gradually expanding into a basin, which is in some parts shallow, but in the centre of sufficient depth for vessels drawing ten or twelve feet. Several ships of war were at anchor off Port-Royal. I was delighted to get ashore amongst my own countrymen, after having so long assorted with Spaniards and Americans. During the whole voyage from Havannah, having had nothing but my cloaks to lie upon, and never having taken off my clothes, I, moreover, anticipated the pleasure of a change of clothing and a sound sleep. Some boats coming alongside, I had my luggage put into one, and was within a few yards of the shore, when the captain called out to me, and I returned. He said it was a custom-house order that no passenger should land his luggage until an officer had examined it, but that I might go on shore myself. This I accordingly 223 did, and going to the custom-house obtained a permit, which I showed to the officer at the wharf, who said he would wait until I came there with

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my luggage. So I returned to the schooner, but the captain refused to give it up until the officer himself should come, and I was obliged to go back. The officer sent his man, and at last I obtained my moveables. He informed me that the captain was a notorious smuggler, and that this affair was a ruse-de-guerre of his, to lull his suspicions. My portmanteau and bag having been found to contain nothing exciseable, I was passed, and went to Mr Davie's lodgings, 81, East Street. There is only one respectable tavern, and there the accommodations are inferior, and the charges most immoderate, from three to four dollars being taken for dinner alone. The lodgings, however, are very good, although the charges are very high, four dollars a week being taken, five shillings for breakfast, and six shillings and eightpence for dinner. The houses in the principal streets are detached, generally of two stories, and built of wood, with verandahs and flower-plots in front. The streets are wide, but very sandy, and not well kept.

Having letters to the house of Christie, Porteous, and Carson, I delivered them, and saw Mr Carson, who asked me to dinner, and offered me letters to the planters in the mountains, should I feel inclined to visit the interior. After remaining three days, and going out three miles to see the spring which supplies the inhabitants and soldiers of Port-Royal with water, I hired a gig with two horses to go to 224 Roxburgh Castle, for which I had to pay L.12, although I should keep them only five days, and no more should I keep them eight. I could get no riding horse to hire, it not being considered respectable to ride without a servant. Starting at half-past five in the morning, I drove along the road in the direction of Spanish Town. This road is good and very level. The ground between the road and the harbour is marshy, and must in dry weather render Kingston very unhealthy, though for several years past there has been little fever there. A few villas, almost all wooden, were seen on the other side. At a toll I paid three shillings currency, or eighteenpence sterling.

Spanish Town, thirteen miles from Port-Royal, the seat of government, is a very small and paltry place, with the surrounding country poor and narrowed in by high hills. The only reason assigned for the choice of this place as the residence of the governor, is its having been the seat of government in the time of the Spaniards. Driving on towards

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Old Harbour, twelve miles distant from Spanish Town, I passed several sugar estates, having a rich soil and level surface. This town, which I reached about ten o'clock, in time to breakfast, does not contain more than a dozen houses, and has a very poor appearance. On proceeding I met a number of Negroes carrying fruits to market, such as oranges, shaddocks, star-apples, and pine-apples. None of them, on being asked, could tell the distance, although there were mile-stones on the road, some saying eight, others five or three miles, some 225 stating that it was "far enough, and not too far." Their language is very bad, and their idiom curious, so much so, that I had to make my driver repeat two or three times his answers to my questions, and after all had often to guess at his meaning. The trees and shrubs were very green, although there had been no rain for two or three months. The cotton-tree is a very beautiful object, bulging out in the lower part of its trunk to an immense size, and dividing into grooves of great depth in an angular form. Many other fruit trees occurred, calabashes, star-apples, limes, oranges, and others. Splendid birds of various kinds flew about among the trees or over the fields; parrots, of green and yellow hues, thrushes, humming-birds, banana birds, blackbirds somewhat resembling our magpie, and many others.

After riding about twenty miles, we began to ascend the high hills bounding the flat lands bordering the harbour, and passed the estate of Clarendon, where much coffee is raised, besides a good many cattle. An estate on which cattle only are reared is named a pend. While ascending the hills, we encountered some very heavy rain, which in two or three minutes completely drenched the driver, although I escaped from its effects, having a good Mackintosh cloak. The drops were at least double the size of any I had before seen. On arriving at Manchester Tavern, about five o'clock, I found a gentleman there with whom I dined, a Mr Bowden, overseer of a Mr Lloyd's estate in the parish of St John's. He asked me to call upon him, and spend 226 a few days with him on my return to Kingston, which I promised to do. The accommodations at this tavern were excellent, the rooms and linen clean, and the wines and malt liquors good.

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We started as soon as it was daylight, Mr Bowden riding on horseback, and leaving the gig. He had a relay of three horses driven by men, although he had travelled only forty miles, and was astonished when I told him that I had driven from Kingston, a distance of fifty-one miles. The deep ravines, overshadowed by beautiful evergreen trees and shrubs, as well as majestic bamboos, gave our route a truly romantic appearance. We proceeded up a steep hill, in the direction of Mandeville, on the way to Roxburgh Castle, and made a long round. On reaching it at last, I found that Mr Hogg was not at home, but his lady received me with great hospitality. I staid two days in expectation of his return, and then proceeded in quest of him towards Savannah-la-mar. The road was very hilly. I passed a great many coffee plantations, and rode through some of them. Mr Hogg was found at a Mr Scaiffe's, where I staid all night. Next morning we started at sunrise, and rode about eight miles to breakfast, with a Mr Harrison of Oldburgh, who had charge of a large coffee estate, where we spent the day. On the following morning we rode over to Mr Hogg's, conversing by the way.

The island is divided into three counties, Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall, which are subdivided into parishes. The parishes return members to the 227 House of Assembly, some three, others two, in proportion to the population. There are about twenty-one parishes, and the qualification is a L.40 freehold, without distinction of colour. Though formerly a coloured person could hold no office of any kind, and had to apply to the Assembly for the privilege of a white, which cost him about L.100, and his application required to be sanctioned by the magistrates and vestry of the parish in which the applicant resided, there are now several blacks in the magistracy of Kingston. The qualification of a member is L 300 sterling. The council is composed of six, with the governor, all appointed by the crown. Their duties are the sanctioning the acts of Assembly, which become legal as soon as subscribed by the governor; but they must also be authorised by the crown, which has the power of annulling them, and preventing their promulgation. There is a church in every parish, but some of the parishes are destitute of established schools, which is a great neglect on the part of the crown, as these

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schools form the focus from which alone can emanate any true appreciation of the spirit of freedom. Most of the blacks on the island can neither write nor read; in fact, not more than a third part of them can do so. There are several charity schools to which the young Negroes are sent. Their parents will not lay out the merest trifle on their education, though they would willingly give two or three dollars to have them baptized; and when the sum of two shillings and sixpence was fixed by the House of Assembly as a fee for registering 228 their baptism, and no fee to be given to the clergyman, those who had given as high as a doubloon said that the others were not properly baptized, and complained that their children had not been regularly christened, because they paid no fee to their minister.

Sugar and coffee are the principal produce of the island. Several of the mountain lands have been converted into pends, that is, stock-farms. The majority of the proprietors are absentees, and are represented by attorneys or agents, who transact business for several, and are paid by a commission of six per cent., allowed by Act of Assembly, on the amount of sales of produce in Britain, after deducting expenses of freight, sale, &c. The attorney appoints an overseer, with a salary of from L.150 to L.280, according to the size of the estate, a house, his table, servants to attend him, pasture for ten or twelve horses and a few cattle. He is assisted by others in proportion to the number of Negroes, one assistant, called a book-keeper, being allowed by law for every eighty Negroes, and for every additional forty another book-keeper. The book-keeper gets from L.50 to L.80 currency, has rooms with the overseer, and is found in victuals. All that he has to provide are a horse and his clothes. A careful book-keeper may save a little money. His duties are to keep a list of the Negroes, to call it over in the field every morning at sunrise, remain with them until breakfast, which is taken at eight, an hour being allowed for the purpose, go out with them again until twelve, when two hours are allowed for 229 dinner, and return to the field, where they remain until sunset. The qualification of an overseer is an apprenticeship of two or three years as book-keeper; but the period of service depends on the attention and the capacity for gaining the necessary knowledge. It is presumed that the attorney knows the system of management, though it is not considered necessary that he should be an

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overseer or book-keeper. Many of the resident planters are attorneys for those absent, and there have even been instances of the appointment of persons in Britain, who, of course, know nothing of the management, but the proprietor having confidence in their integrity, scruples not to appoint them to the management of his estate, and in nine cases out of ten for the first three or four years there is a defalcation in the crop, owing to the attorney's ignorance of the character of the Negro, and the system of cropping. It is a general complaint in Britain, that when a valuable succession of West India property opens up, it is seldom that above half of the estimated value of the estate is realized. This may arise out of many causes. Suppose trustees have been appointed, who may be in different parts of the island, and, of course, they select an attorney, who again chooses an overseer: now, if the overseer is careless, and not well versant in the management of either a sugar or coffee plantation, so much injury to the estate may arise from his inattention even the first year, as to depreciate the returns one-half. The Negroes discover in the course of a very few days whether the overseer knows his business, and, of course, they behave accordingly. Several large estates were pointed out to me that were valued at L.100,000 at the decease of the proprietor, but, owing to bad management, &c., were so much involved as to yield nothing to his heirs. Again, it frequently happens that disputes arise regarding the succession, and one of the parties throws the estate into chancery, a receiver of the rents is appointed, but he is not responsible for the management, and in nine cases out of ten the parties interested get nothing. The only way of realizing West India property is for one of the parties interested to take charge with full powers, but he must be on the spot, else risk is run of defalcation of returns, unless he is one of the lucky few who get good managers. A gentleman of my acquaintance, a Creole, an apt barrister, turned his attention latterly to planting coffee, and was in the receipt of between L.2000 and L.3000 per annum from his estate under his own charge. He fell into bad health, and was advised by his physicians to go to Britain. He entrusted the charge of his estate to the care of a friend, a neighbouring planter and attorney, whom he supposed prudent and careful. He had not been absent above fifteen months, before he found that his estate had sunk from the above revenue to almost nothing. Luckily his health getting re-established, he returned

in time to save himself and property from certain ruin. His is not the only case: for many others of a similar description are of daily occurrence.

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The uncultivated mountain lands are best adapted for coffee. These are in their natural state covered with hardwood, such as bully-tree, Santa-Maria, coc-wood, broad-leaf, &c. The sugar districts are selected among the level grounds or lowlands, which in their natural state are covered with fox-tail grass and other coarse herbage, besides a variety of trees, such as joint-wood, bastard cedar, &c.

In preparing the ground for coffee, the wood is cut, and after the branches are lopped off, the trunks are left to rot, affording shelter from the sun's scorching rays to the young plant. The branches and brushwood, after being dried, are burnt, and the remaining limbs are heaped together to allow room for planting the coffee. It is considered that to log and burn the trunks would so scorch the soil as to render it unfit for production, it being of light red clay in the mountains, with masses of perforated limestone thickly scattered all over. There is a very thin coating of this soil lying over the limestone rock, which, on being exposed to the sun's rays a few years, becomes unfit for cultivation. The ground thus cleared is ready for being measured, preparatorily to planting the coffee. For this purpose there is used a line from 100 to 120 feet in length, which is drawn by a man at each end, who is called a liner. Three other men, called peggers, are employed in driving down pegs, the line being divided and notched at every five feet distance. These pegs, which are two feet and a half long, are made by three men, who are therefore technically termed peg-makers. The lines being five feet distant, the ground is thus laid out in squares of that size. It takes 1742 pegs to each acre, and the eight men thus measure one acre per day. The plants are obtained from the other plantations. The seeds that fall, and others that have not attained maturity at the time of pulling the coffee, in due time shoot up, when as many as injure the mother plants are cleared away, while the rest are allowed to grow for new plants. These are ready for being transplanted in eighteen months or two years. Sometimes the superfluous shoots from the root of the parent plants are collected for this purpose. The

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planter, having a dibble three feet and a half long and two inches in diameter, makes a hole at each of the pegs four or five inches in depth, into which the plant is put, when the earth is pressed in, and the top of the plant is cut off to within two inches of the ground. Sometimes one man pulls, trims, and plants, the number which he can put in being two hundred a day. The ground is cleared of weeds every six weeks. It is remarkable that if a plant dies, another substituted for it rarely thrives. If the ground is left exposed to the sun's rays for a short time after the plant vegetates, for two or three months several shoots spring out. which are all cut off except the strongest and most healthy, which, after growing to the height of about four feet, is topped. In some soils the plant yields fruit the second year at the rate of 500 lb. an acre; the third year from 1000 lb. to 1200 lb. an acre; the fourth year the produce rarely exceeds 600 lb.; but the fifth year it is from 1000 lb. to 1200 lb. The plants have to be pruned every alternate year, and 233 of course yield less fruit the season immediately following the pruning. After the fifth year, the produce averages 400 tierces for six or seven years more, and in some favourable soils the plants prosper so well as to give the same quantity for fifteen or twenty years. Sometimes, when the plant is not productive, or does not thrive, the ground is allowed to run wild, when trees spring up spontaneously upon it, or it is sown down with guinea-grass and pastured. The fruit is ready for being pulled in August. It is of a deep red colour, and resembles a cherry. Care must be taken to pull it before it is too ripe, otherwise it falls and is injured. One Negro can pull three bushels per diem. The fruit must be pulped as soon as possible, as it loses flavour on being allowed to remain any time in the pulp after being pulled. It is put through a machine, and passed under a roller 2½ feet wide, 18 inches in diameter, perforated or punched like a grater, which retains the pulp, and allows the seed to fall through into a cistern. The machine is driven by two mules, and three men are employed in the business. One drives the mules, another fills in the coffee, the third attends the cistern, to lay aside any that passes through unpulped. After the cistern is filled, water is thrown upon the coffee, to wash away any remaining pulp, as well as the glutinous matter that adheres to the bean. It remains among water eighteen hours, when the light coffee and chaff collect on the surface, and are skimmed off. It is again washed, and then removed into another

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cistern, when the water is drained off. The beans are then taken out, 234 and put on the barbicans to dry. These are pieces of ground about forty feet square, raised about a foot by paving, and terraced. The surface is made smooth by a composition of lime and sand, or red clay. On this the coffee is spread out as thin as possible; it is turned over every twenty minutes, and at night is collected into heaps, which are covered with lids of a conical form. Great care must be taken that it does not get wet. Should the weather be fine, it will be ready in a week to be taken into the house, after which it is put through what is called a peeling mill, which has a single circular stone revolving in a frame. This operation divests the bean of the inner pulp; after which it is put through a fanner, and then hand-picked. One Negro will pick from 150 lb. to 200 lb. per diem. It is now sufficiently clean, and ready to be put into the casks, called tierces, which hold from 700 lb. to 1000 lb.; and are made of Santa Maria or broad-leaf wood. It is then sent by waggons drawn by oxen to the sea-ports. An estate of 150 acres of coffee three years old is expected to give 100 tierces. A tierce of 700 lb. brings £25 sterling in the London market this season.

On an estate of 500 acres, the proportion is generally 200 acres in coffee, 100 Negro land, 100 ruinate or in grass, and the remaining 100 in wood. In proportion as the plant ceases to be productive, so much of the wood land is cut down and planted to keep up the quantity of coffee land.

It requires ninety Negroes to manage an estate of 500 acres. Each Negro is allowed an acre of 235 land, though there is no restriction as to quantity, and some frequently have two acres in cultivation, and, if allowed, will break up a new piece of land every two years, as it is more productive than cleared land. The Negro cultivates corn, pease, beans, yams, cocoa, plantains, and bananas, and is allowed to keep as many pigs and poultry as he pleases. Sometimes a careful Negro will have running about the estate eight or ten pigs, five or six goats, and two or three mules. Some of them make a good deal of money, and purchase their freedom, when they generally become indolent, and prefer stealing to working. Each member of a family is allowed by his owner half a herring and so much salt daily, and gets a Christmas present, generally a quart of rum, a quart of sugar, ten or

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twelve pounds of salt fish, and frequently three or four pounds of fresh beef, according to his deserts. They are provided with clothes, medicine, and medical attendance throughout the year.

Although the greatest kindness may be shown to the Negro, he retains his character unchanged, and can never be implicitly trusted, being extremely cunning, sly, and addicted to theft. They are very superstitious, and implicitly bow to the wishes of their spirits, or Obias, as they call them. When one Negro takes a mortal dislike to another, he works upon his enemy through this channel. Before going out in the morning, he will lay some earth at the door of his enemy; his seeing which, makes him believe that his Obia demands his life, and on this being repeated thrice without detection, he generally kills himself, either by eating clay, or some poisonous vegetable or shrub. Numberless cases of this description have occurred, so much so as to call for the interference of the Assembly, who passed severe laws upon those practising this system, as well as against those who made a trade of preparing circular balls of clay for eating. There are a great many fatal diseases amongst them, which the medical boards of Europe have as yet been unable to devise a remedy for. Hitherto the practitioner has had the prejudices of the Negro to contend with as well as his habits, which are invariably concealed by him in his wish for indolence. That barrier is now about being removed by the termination of the apprenticeship, when a new field will be laid open for the progress of the medical science in aiding the recovery of a fellow being from diseases comparatively unknown. Stealing is so natural to Negroes, that they never neglect an opportunity of engaging in it. They are often entrusted to carry large sums of money, which they very seldom embezzle, as they know that they can easily be detected; but they rarely allow provisions of any kind to pass through their hands without levying a contribution; and in extracting any thing from a package, they rival in dexterity the most experienced thief. One of Mr Hogg's neighbour's Negroes was in the habit of calling at his house on his way to Kingston, where he was regularly sent once a week, to receive any commands, and bring any provisions wanted. Mr Hogg once gave him some money to pay a bill. On his return, having been later than

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usual, he accounted 237 for his detention by stating that he had been waylaid, tied to a tree, and robbed of all his master's goods, although he had contrived to conceal Mr Hogg's balance of a few shillings, which he produced. The marks on his arms and wrists he exhibited as proofs of the accuracy of his statement. On investigation, however, it turned out that all this was a contrivance to rob his master, who had implicit confidence in his integrity, and could scarcely believe that he had been cheated by his slave. Mr Hogg having some flour at a wharf, sent down his carpenter, a Negro, to bring it up. Some months afterwards, when the barrels were opened, it was found that the flour had been removed from one of them, and the Negro confessed that he had done it by the way, but denied that he had stolen the flour—he had only *taken* it. It is remarked by John Randolph, a celebrated member of Congress for Virginia, that he never knew an honest Negro, and that a Negro never steals,—he takes or finds. Like the Irish, the Negroes are very ready at an answer, and sometimes give a witty reply.

The planters complain most grievously of the Abolition Act. Since it was passed, the Negro, although he works only eight hours per day, and has Saturday to himself, does not exert himself half so much as formerly. Consequently, owing to the greater number of hands required, the price of produce has been raised. Formerly the slaves stood in awe of the whip, and this kept them working, but now they are quite regardless. The stipendiary magistrate in a majority of cases protects 238 the Negro, much to the detriment of the planter. He has been sent from Britain, knows nothing of the character of the Negro, but conceives him to be as honest and grateful as another person might be, and when the planter makes a complaint, he generally treats the offender with lenity, and merely reprimands him. So far is this lenity from producing any beneficial effect, that the Negro, finding he can injure his master with impunity, does so. He knows that his master will not make such a complaint against him, as to cause his being sent to the tread-mill, because he would then lose the benefit of his service. This view of the matter has great weight with the Negroes, as well as with their master, who, as it is natural to suppose, is desirous of

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getting from them all the work he can during their short apprenticeship of six years, and therefore will, in many cases, put up with their faults rather than complain.

In passing this act our government entailed on the nation an addition of L.20,000,000 to its already enormous debt, that sum being the valued compensation for the Negroes. This could have been avoided. If they had extended the period of apprenticeship to twenty, instead of six years, the planters would not have asked a sixpence of compensation. This arrangement would have benefited the Negroes themselves. If schools had been established for their education, with the regulation as in Prussia, obliging every Negro to send his family to school, as well as requiring the superintendence of the planter to see that he does so, they might have been taught that it was for their own advantage to be industrious; and those in apprenticeship would have been so accustomed to their labour, that habit would induce them to continue it after the expiry of their period of service; whereas now the short space of seven years so soon elapses, that many young lads will be let loose in the island, and will wander from place to place, detesting the very idea of working, but stealing whatever they can lay hands on. At present so strong is their propensity to thieving, that it is with the greatest difficulty a planter can protect himself. It has been found necessary to establish constables in every parish to watch them, and on every estate there is a watchman night and day to guard the coffee and sugar. In spite of all precautions, however, the Negroes steal quantities of sugar-cane, rum, coffee, and other articles, and carry them to the market on Saturdays. Many of these articles are detected at the police stations on the public roads, where their baskets are examined. Sometimes they travel twenty or thirty miles by night, so as to evade the policeman, and be in the market at an early hour. Sometimes they sell their stolen goods to a free Negro, who easily avoids being detected; but they are not fond of this arrangement, as they obtain less money than they would get in the market.

The government has also been injudicious in the selection of magistrates, most of those sent over having given great dissatisfaction. Being ignorant of the character of the Negroes they rely on their assertions, although it is notorious that a Negro 240 will readily

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swear to a lie, deny a charge with the greatest effrontery, and invent a story to screen himself. It is seldom that one of them tells upon another, unless a quarrel should ensue, when the thief is immediately denounced to his master. Many Negroes keep dogs, which they train to steal fowls. One goes out with his dog, points to a goose, a turkey, or a fowl, tells him to bring it home, and returning waits his arrival. Had the magistrates been chosen from among the inhabitants of the island, a much more efficient police would have been established, to the great benefit of the public, as well as of the Negroes themselves. Many of them declare that they will not work when their apprenticeship expires in 1840; and the planters look forward to the almost total ruin of their properties for want of labourers.

Much injury was done to the internal policy of the island by the late governor, the Marquis of Sligo, who, like the Earl of Gosford, instead of allaying the fermentation existing at the period of his entering upon his government, fostered and encouraged private dissension. There is scarcely a planter who does not speak ill of him. Instead of carrying the Abolition Act into effect, he instructed the magistrates in many cases to conduct themselves in opposition to it. Some of the attorneys and planters quietly submitted to their illegal acts, while others had the spirit to resist them, and bring their decisions under a court of judicature, which not only declared them illegal, but imposed heavy fines. The magistrates, however, having acted agreeably to 241 the instructions of the Governor, were defended by him; while those who refused to comply with his illegal mandates were so persecuted by him, that they were obliged to resign. In one of his circular letters, he directs them to note down the private conversation at the planters' houses to which they might be invited, and send it to him. Some of the magistrates showed the planters the circular, and intimated to the governor that they would not be guilty of such a breach of hospitality. He had recourse to an increasing persecution of those who refused to render him implicit obedience; and his secretary encouraged the Negroes to complain to himself, entered into a scrutiny in the most trifling case, caused much annoyance and loss of time to the magistrate, brought him repeatedly to the government house, and wrote to him that he neglected his visits to the estates, while he himself kept him from his duty. The act

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requires that the magistrate should visit every estate under his charge at least once a week; but so distant are some of the estates, that many find it impossible to comply with the injunction. The governor exacted regular journals from them, detailing their visits, that he might notify to the British government how the act worked, which he represented as giving satisfaction to all parties, although, in fact, neither the planters nor the Negroes were pleased with it, as it reduced the properties of the former to nearly one half of their value, and disappointed the latter in their expectations, they having been told that they were not only to get their freedom, but to be entirely exempt from L 242 labour. One of the magistrates in the mountains, who refused to comply with the circular above mentioned, became in consequence obnoxious to the Marquis, who wrote to the Ministry to have him dismissed. The magistrate, on being informed of this by the governor's secretary, who was his friend, and learning from the same source how he might make his peace, wrote to the governor that, in his parish, the attornies, overseers, and book-keepers, were all a set of the greatest whoremongers and drunkards in the island, and set a very bad example to the Negroes. This had the desired effect, and his letter was sent home to the Ministry. It was afterwards printed and circulated in the island, much to the annoyance of the magistrate, who had taken a licence with the character of his neighbours unwarranted by truth. When this became public, none would speak to him, and he took it so much to heart, as to petition for his removal, which was effected.

So absurd at last did the Marquis's conduct appear to the Ministry, that, in order to get rid of him, they placed him in a situation to induce him to resign, which he did, though with reluctance. Before leaving the West Indies, he visited the President of Hayti; but the noble Marquis has hitherto kept to himself his observations on that Republic, though he was so well known to the President. It is reported that he declined to accept of the Marquis's invitation to breakfast on board H.M. steamer Dee. They have been more judicious in their new appointment. The present governor, 243 Sir Lionel Smith, being a man of sense, and acquainted with the political economy of the island, gives satisfaction to all parties, and the country is prospering under his administration.

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I left Roxburgh with the intention of returning to Kingston for my luggage, and proceeding to Black River as soon as possible, to get on board the *Thalia*, Captain Shand, with whom Mr Hogg and two of his children meant to sail for London in the course of ten days. Mr Hogg gave me a letter to his agents in Kingston. Proceeding across the mountains to Old Harbour, where I turned off to the left in the direction of St John's Parish, I ascended some very high hills, when my horses getting tired, I was obliged to walk. About ten at night I met several Negroes with baskets on their heads, and at twelve reached Lloyd's estate, the overseer of which, Mr Bowden, had asked me to pay him a visit of a few days on my return. Finding all in bed, I was obliged to rap him up, and make a proper apology for the unseasonableness of my visit, which had been in part produced by a mistake my driver. He received me with great kindness and hospitality. Next morning, getting up at six, I went out and found Mr Bowden engaged in superintending the sale of an ox that had been killed. He disposed of it at 10d. per pound. Afterwards he took me to the sugar-houses, and showed me the processes of making sugar and rum. The cane is put between two rollers, washed with lime, to prevent the souring of the juice, which, on being pressed out, is conducted by pipes to large vats, where it 244 is boiled and drained off into other vats for cooling. When it has coagulated, it is put with shovels into large barrels pierced beneath like a sieve, so as to allow the molasses to run off. These are conducted to the distillery, where they are fermented, distilled, and afterwards coloured with sugar syrup. At breakfast we were joined by Dr Whitaker, the member of Assembly for St John's, and two or three other gentlemen.

When I was about to depart, one of my horses lay down, and was with great difficulty got up. Mr Bowden advised me to leave him, as he conceived it dangerous to travel with him, and offered me another horse; but I considered it better to take him. The country between St John's and Spanish Town is undulating, and the soil pretty good. I passed several fine sugar estates. My servant, having informed me that the horse had lain down because he had got no corn, and that he himself had only got a cup of coffee, I ordered both to be fed at Spanish Town, while I went to the Register Office to search the records, to ascertain

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the value of assets of a deceased person. I found an inventory of his personal estate, and his will, for the inspection of which I paid a shilling. I was informed that it has several times been proposed in Assembly to remove the government to Kingston, but that the expense of providing accommodations there is an obstacle not to be easily surmounted.

At Kingston, I called on Mr John Nethersole, to whom I had a letter from Mr Hogg. Next day, being Sunday, he came for me at ten o'clock in the 245 morning, and drove to the Presbyterian Church, where we heard a good sermon; few persons, however, were present. It is a practice with some to go to the Episcopalian Church in the morning, and the Presbyterian in the afternoon. The Society at Kingston is good, although there are few respectable ladies there, owing to the general practice of keeping mistresses, which, indeed, is common all over the island. This is in itself a great evil, and is highly injurious to the morals of the blacks, who imitate their masters in this as in other respects. It has been the general practice of the planters and attornies to discourage matrimony amongst their overseers and book-keepers, and recommend them to indulge in promiscuous concubinage among the black women, rather than to marry or to take a housekeeper. At one time, when a stranger visited at an overseer's, he might have his choice of the females on the estate. The morals of the blacks are, of course, similar. Until lately they very seldom married, but had indiscriminate connexion with all the females. Since the missionaries have come amongst them, some have been persuaded to marry; but though they go through the form, as something novel, they retain their old propensities, and prefer a plurality of wives. Although at first many flocked to church, they now generally prefer remaining idle in their huts. Very few of them are able to read, and of course much of what they may hear at church is lost to them. The missionaries are reported by the planters to do more harm than good, as they induce 246 the Negroes to give them money, to obtain which they frequently steal from their masters rum, sugar, coffee, and other articles, which they take to market. Though the laws of the island forbid any one to purchase from a slave or apprentice, they can easily sell to free Negroes at a little under market price; and they contrive to elude the watchmen on the estates, as well as

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the policemen and constables stationed on the public roads for the purpose of detecting them. When returning to Kingston, and about three miles from Spanish Town, I passed several Negresses with large baskets on their heads. A constable at one of the stations came out and found sugar-cane in their baskets. They had come from Lloyd's estate that morning, a distance of nearly seven miles, and were sent back with the cane. Many petty offences are overlooked, in consequence of the trouble and expense to which the owner is put in complaining to the stipendiary magistrate; and even those of a graver nature are submitted to, because the master is desirous of getting as much labour as possible from his apprentice.

On Sunday afternoon, Mr Nethersole drove me out to a villa about three miles from Kingston, where we had a fine view of the harbour and Port Royal. We then went to the Bedlam, which was under his management, and where about thirty poor creatures were confined, the deplorable condition of which cast a gloom on my spirits, which was in some degree continued during the rest of the day. The institution, however, seemed to be admirably conducted, for Mr Nethersole had applied to its management 247 his practical knowledge of human nature, and the results of his observation obtained while inspecting many similar establishments in the United States. We also visited the House of Correction, where about two hundred individuals were confined. There is a public hospital, which averages throughout the year 200 patients. There are about 8000 children, of all colours, under a course of education in Kingston, and the churches and chapels are equal to those of any town of the same extent in Britain.

Mr Nethersole's tannery, which is of great extent, differed from any other that I have visited, in being destitute of the usual stifling odour. This was owing to his employing for tanning the fruit of the Divi-divi, lately introduced from South America. This gentleman's indefatigable exertions in promoting the prosperity of the colony cannot be too much praised. He has, on several occasions, received premiums, and the thanks of the House of Assembly, for his improvements. The following is a copy of a letter addressed to him by the secretary of the Jamaica Society:—" *Kingston, November 1837.*— Sir, —I am

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directed by the council of the Jamaica Society to inclose to you a copy of the report made by the committee of the society appointed to inspect your leather and shoemaking establishments. I also beg leave to inform you, that copies have this day been sent to the daily papers for insertion, and that the council authorise you to make any further use of their report you may judge necessary. I am, Sir, your very obedient servant, J. Miller , secretary, Jamaica Society.

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“The following report made to the council of the Jamaica Society, at its meeting on Wednesday, was approved of, and ordered to be made public. The committee which was appointed on the 13th instant, to inspect various kinds of leather submitted to the society by Mr Nethersole, as samples of the production of his tannery, and the different articles accompanying them which had been manufactured from his leather, and also to inspect his several establishments, and to report thereon at the earliest opportunity, having met on the following Saturday, as directed, they proceeded to examine minutely the specimens of leather, and of leathern manufactures enumerated in Mr Nethersole's letter; after which they visited his school of industry in Harbour Street, and his tannery to the eastward of this city; and after a careful inspection of the whole, they have agreed in reporting as follows, viz.: 1st, That they consider the leather generally to have been well prepared, and to be of a good marketable quality; but the samples of sole leather, of goat skin, and of binding leather, to be not so good as the rest. They have to observe, however, that the articles were all prepared under circumstances unfavourable to their being produced in their most perfect state, from the very heavy rains which had fallen during nearly the whole of the week preceding; and likewise, that at the tannery they saw leather of each of the descriptions just mentioned, which was much better than the samples sent to the society; whence the committee feel justified in believing that the tannery is improving in its processes, and in expecting, from 249 the attention which seemed to be paid to the manufacture, that it will ere long be able to furnish leather of equal quality to any imported.

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"2dly, That in the School of Industry they found about forty boys of free condition, and of colour, or black, who had been apprenticed at various periods since the 1st January 1826, and were employed in making boots and shoes under the direction of white persons bred to the business. They received weekly wages of from 5s. to 13s. 4d., according to their attention and ability; but, as the committee were informed, had previously been without any means of earning a maintenance, and many among them in habits of idleness and vice. The several articles manufactured by them appeared to be well made, and the committee learned that they had proved, on trial, to be as serviceable as those imported, and even better, because they had been made to order, and of fresh materials, and that they were afforded at a price not greater than the cost of imported articles.

"3dly, That they found the tannery in full activity, and conducted by intelligent tanners and carriers from England, the former of whom use little else in tanning than materials naturally produced in the West Indies, and who being greatly favoured besides by the climate, are enabled to complete the process of tanning in less than half the time required in Europe; and that an important consequence which they had ascertained to have been effected by this establishment, was the reduction of the value of English leather to one-half of its former price, that 250 is to say, from 4s. and 5s. per pound, to 2s. 1d. and 2s. 6d.

"Lastly, That the above establishment, together with the School of Industry before-mentioned, give employment to seventy persons, of whom sixty are of free condition, including fourteen whites.

"In concluding this report, the committee beg permission to add, that they consider the two establishments in question, as well as the articles therein manufactured, which have been submitted to their inspection, to be highly deserving of the approbation of this society, and of encouragement from the public.

" Chas. S. Cockburn, for J. B. Wildman.

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E. N. Bancroft.

B. Maddan.

James Simpson.

J. Miller, Secretary.”

The progress of improvement in the island, even so far back as 1824, is abundantly evident from the following extract from the journals of the House of Assembly for that year, p. 380: “On the motion being made, a standing committee was appointed, for the purpose of enquiring into all such matters and things as are likely to prove beneficial to the security and prosperity of the island, and to report thereon to the house from time to time.

“By the examination of Mr Simons, it has been shewn that he has recently established a tannery in Kingston, which is in a course of successful operation. 251 A similar establishment has been formed by Mr Scott, on a larger scale, in a neighbouring parish, and your committee are persuaded, that if due encouragement is given to those persons, they will be enabled to prepare as much leather as may be necessary for the consumption of the island. The Mangrove tree, which can be easily obtained, supplies materials for tanning, and the process is much more expeditious here than in Europe, by reason whereof, leather prepared in the island can be sold for half the price at which it can be imported. All that is required is an increased consumption of the article, to give profitable remuneration to the parties engaged in those establishments. Samples of different kinds of leather have been submitted to the inspection of your committee, which they highly approved of, and the shoes made therefrom (which were also exhibited) induced them to think that, in the course of a short time, shoes and saddlery may be abundantly supplied without the aid of importation.

“It has been communicated to your committee, that two extensive iron founderies are already at work in Kingston and at Falmouth. They are assured that articles of iron of

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every description, including machinery, may be obtained at those places in terms equally favourable as similar articles can be imported. The board of works, in order to call our internal resources into action, have advertised for 2000 wrought iron stretchers for the use of the army, which will, no doubt, be readily furnished. Other establishments are also in operation, and many more will, no doubt, be set on foot, now that 252 the house have signified their intention to afford them encouragement.

“Your committee feel the importance of increasing the white population of the island; but as the subject is one which requires the greatest consideration, and is likely to be attended with difficulty and expense, they defer expressing their opinion to the house to a future period.

“Were schools of industry, combined with education, established in the most populous parts of the island, very beneficial consequences would result therefrom. The formation of the morals and habits of the rising generation of free coloured people would thereby be insured, and the prospect opened to them of a useful and reputable walk in life. This subject is also of the utmost importance, and calls for the serious consideration of the house. It is to be hoped that the several parochial vestries throughout the island will turn their attention thereto, and contribute every means in their power towards the accomplishment of an object on which, in a great measure, depend the future prosperity and safety of this colony. As regards our vegetable productions, nothing can more fully display the wisdom and bounty of Divine providence. Ample means are within our reach to an extent beyond what most parts of the world can boast of, and nothing more is required than an union of science and industry to render them subservient to all the purposes of life. Your committee look forward to the progressive display of both, and to the ultimate attainment of those desirable objects which are sought for by the 253 house. They beg leave respectfully to recommend that the following premiums be offered by way of encouragement, and as a prelude to more extensive endeavours, not doubting but a spirit

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of emulation, once excited, will spread through every rank and station, and be productive of the happiest effects.

“For the best regulated, and most extensive establishment in the island for educating and giving employment to poor free persons, the sum of L.250.

“For the next best, L.150.

“Certificates signed as above, to be produced to the house in the session of 1835.”

Mr Nethersole pressed me to stay a few weeks, promising to introduce me to the best society of the town. I was also much obliged to Mr P., who drove me out one morning before breakfast to see the militia reviewed by the governor, on the Camp, a large plain near the town, on which are built military barracks. The laws of the island require all persons of the proper age resident to join the militia. The Kingston militia are a thousand strong, there being two companies of Blacks. They are generally drilled once a month, and on this occasion they went through their evolutions in a creditable manner. Although the hour of inspection was six in the morning, there were several open carriages, and a few gigs. When the governor made his appearance, twenty of the great guns were fired, the charge of each being a pound of powder. I had no other means of getting down to Alligator Pond, where the ship was lying, than by taking a berth in a drogger, a small sloop, of which there 254 are many constantly plying between Kingston and the different ports and wharfs in the island, with the provisions for the plantations. There were two other passengers, a woman, and a book-keeper attached to an estate in the neighbourhood of Carlisle Bay. The small cabin was filled with parcels, and the captain, the woman, and myself, were obliged to lie on the deck. Mr Nethersole had laid in some bread, cheese, and porter, with a bottle of brandy, and the only other provisions we had during our three days' sail were salt fish and coffee. We reached Salt River about three o'clock of the first day, but owing to the flat marshy land adjoining the harbour, the wharf was about three miles off. There are three wharfs, a lower, a middle, and an upper, belonging to different

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estates, and about a mile distant from each other. Having a great quantity of provisions to land at each, we were detained a day and a half. The captain, who was a black man, could neither write nor read, and had a Mulatto boy to read his manifest for him; but the boy, whether from design or carelessness, sent ashore some articles destined for the Black River, about a day's sail farther on. He expressed great regret at his want of education, and assured me that almost all his friends and acquaintances were in the same condition. Owing to the Negroes refusing to receive the goods, or to work after four o'clock, we were detained until six next morning. This delay must in some instances prove injurious to the planters as well as to the owners of the vessels. The House of Assembly ought to regulate the hours, 255 and if their power is so much cramped, that even the smallest matter of this kind requires the sanction of the government at home, the arrangement must obviously be injurious to the interests of the colonists. It is in consequence of such obnoxious restrictions, that settlements are excited to throw off their allegiance whenever they find themselves strong enough to maintain their independence, or so situated as to obtain the protection of a foreign power. The tide flows up Salt River for some miles, and its banks are flat and marshy. Vast multitudes of crabs are seen running among the shrubs, at the roots of which they burrow; and there is abundance of fish in the river.

From this to Carlisle Bay is a sail of about eight hours, with a moderate breeze. At this place, where we landed some goods, an old white-headed Negro came on board. On my asking him how he thought the Negroes would do in 1840, he said he believed they would not work at all, at least the greater part of them, and seemed to think their emancipation a dangerous experiment. We next came to Alligator Pond, which is not so good a harbour as either of the other places mentioned, landed goods there, and afterwards passed Pedro, which is also an exposed harbour. Both have a great deal of marshy land, and are frequented by alligators.

At Black River, which is not a much better harbour, we found the *Thalia*, Captain Shand, lying about three miles out. There is always a bar at its mouth, which forms a great obstacle to the ships' boats in lading, as it is necessary to wait for the 256 tide before

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they can enter. The large scows in which the sugar, coffee, pimento, and other articles of produce are brought down the river from the different estates, draw little water, and generally have on board eight or ten blacks, with a master and a steersman.

Finding that the *Thalia* would not sail for some days, I went ashore at Black River, where there is a small village. The captain warned me to keep my bed-room door locked, otherwise I should certainly have a bed-fellow before morning, as is the practice all over the island. There was an inspection of the militia of this parish by the governor, and I was pleased with the efficient appearance of the regiment, which consisted of about 600 infantry and 20 cavalry, with three field pieces. A great deal of brandy, rum, and other liquors, was drunk by the overseers and book-keepers after the inspection, and many individuals were in a state of intoxication the whole time.

At length, on the 15th April, we set sail, and in three days ran down to Cape Corrientes, in Cuba. Mr Hogg and two of his children were on board; and he had under his charge two girls and a boy belonging to a friend of his, who were going to be educated at home, Jamaica being as bad a school for children as it seems to be for adults. The Negroes being irreclaimably addicted to all sorts of falsehood, deceit, and mischief, soon make the white children as bad as themselves. The planters possibly are not aware that this is merely a part of the moral retribution necessarily resulting from slavery. 257 It is a curious anomaly in humanity, that a man allows in himself many delinquencies which he severely punishes in his children, and the West Indians do well to send theirs to be educated in England.

When off the Caymans Islands, we hove to and were boarded by several small canoes, laden with turtles, of which several were purchased, varying in weight from 30 lb. to 130 lb. The sailors trafficked in large shells, of which the blacks had great abundance. Although there was no wind, we were carried along by the Gulf stream, which ran at the rate of four miles an hour.

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There are numerous pirates about Cuba, generally Spaniards. A ship that passed about three weeks before us had been attacked by them, but she fortunately had some guns, and after firing two rounds, the pirate left her. Had we been assailed, we must necessarily have surrendered at discretion, as we had not so much as a single musket on board. It is very negligent of the owners of vessels to allow their ships to trade with the West Indies, without having one or two large guns on board, besides a round of small arms. An American schooner was taken about two months before the time of our voyage, and robbed of her entire cargo. The pirates find in all parts of Cuba a ready market for their plunder, and the facility thus afforded to their nefarious traffic is the principal cause of its existence.

Our captain was a very pleasant and gentlemanly person, as was his mate, Mr Tyler. The latter one day speared two Dolphins or Coryphenes, 258 which, in dying, as has often been said and sung, exhibit the most vivid and changing tints of green and yellow, but which are of little value as an article of food. As the time hung heavily on us, we amused ourselves in the best way we could; and indeed we had need of all our philosophy, for the passage was protracted to nine weeks. The fare was L.40, and some vessels charge as high as L.60, which is enormous, considering that six weeks are generally sufficient for the passage. In the New York packets, where the accommodation and living are greatly superior, only L.30 are charged, and in other vessels L 20. One consequence of this is, that many persons having business in the West Indies, and even those residing there, when they come home, prefer going by New York, from which to Kingston there is a weekly packet. The British Government may be said to have a monopoly as to passengers. Their packets between Falmouth and St Thomas average a month, and it takes a week more by steam to Kingston. No merchantman is allowed to carry any one who has resided six weeks on the island, unless he has advertised his intention of departing three weeks previously; but the Government packets take all who apply, without asking questions; while the captain of the merchantman and his consignee have to enter surety for L.1000, that they take none without due advertisement. This measure

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is intended to prevent persons from leaving the island before paying their debts; but, of course, a man in debt is sure to go off by the Government packet. Any creditor can prevent 259 the departure of a debtor by filing a bill against him, so that the latter cannot obtain a certificate; but the packets never ask for certificates, as they are not liable to any penalty for carrying off debtors.

The details of our voyage were not of sufficient importance to induce me to relate them here. I landed in Great Britain, in the thirteenth month from my departure, having travelled upwards of 20,000 miles, at an expense of only L.350.

THE END.

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